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Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Opressions

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Dedicatoria:
We dedicate these proceedings to
Patsy and Nadine Córdova
who challenged an oppressive educational system and
restored a place for Chicana/o books in the academy.

MAPPING STRATEGIES:
NACCS AND THE CHALLENGE OF MULTIPLE (RE)OPPRESSIONS.

Selected proceedings of the XXIII Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies, held in Chicago, Illinois, March 20-23, 1996.

Editorial Commitee:
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Acknowledgments

When I committed myself to become Chair of the committee for these proceedings I never thought that the process would be as challenging and rewarding as it has been for me. As a committee we encountered several obstacles in our way. Some had to do with time constraints; others dealt with resources available to me, through my department, which would have stopped us from finishing on time. *Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions* became, in a way, a symbol of resistance and pride on what we were set out do do. When my computer literally "crashed" on me and I did not find the administrative support, I found that not everything is black and white. Tonantzin was leading the way. I wish to acknowledge the invaluable help of the following persons, without whom these proceedings would have not been finished for the San Antonio Conference.

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María Antonia Beltrán-Vocal
Chair, Editorial Committee

Preface: Multiple (Re)Oppressions, Scholarship, and Resistance Strategies

> What makes the Mexic Amerindian woman's literary expression questionable (and indeed ours is often under suspicion as legitimate literature) is essentially the same mechanism that has always kept us invisible as human beings and suppressed our contributions to the changing process of society. Supporters of the status quo doubt the value of our cultural endeavors because they measure our efforts against self-serving standards. If we learn to use language in such a way that it conforms to these standards, then, of course, our work proves itself worthy (though often deemed imitative). The individual who adopts the prevailing standards will be rewarded, the one who refuses is ostracized. This punishment and reward system for assimilation is not just "the American way," it is the last resort when blatant rejection on the basis of class, race, and sex are no longer considered acceptable by society.
>
> –Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma (1994: 165)*

Racism, oppression, discrimination and resistance to assimilation are terms that are not new to the Chicana/o and Mexicana/o communities. As seen in the scholarship produced over the years by the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), they have been part of our lives throughout history. With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), Chicanas and Chicanos were "granted" the right to maintain a language and culture. However, the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled by the colonizer. Little by little, our people lost their land, they were oppressed at schools, where they were not allowed to speak Spanish, and were punished and humiliated. It took a social movement, the Chicano Movement, to demand, from the American system the rights given to them by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the United States Constitution. Many of those who participated in that Movement are still with us today. This volume of NACCS selected proceedings, *Mapping*

Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions, reflects their resistance and its resonance among today's Chicana and Chicano scholars and activists.

Over thirty years have passed since the Chicano Civil Rights Movement began and we find ourselves today, in 1999, struggling with some of the same oppressions that the students, faculty, staff and community at large, were struggling with at that time. Our farm workers are working under what could be called Third World conditions. Yet, they are not working in a Third World country; they are in the United States, supposedly "la tierra de la democracia y de la oportunidad." The theme of the 1996 conference, "Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Racist Policies," focused on some of the challenges that Chicanas and Chicanos and Mexicanas and Mexicanos have been facing during the past few years as a result of the anti-immigrant laws as well as the anti-affirmative action and anti-bilingual education propositions that Anglo nativists specifically and conservatives in general–including ethnic proponents–designed and passed at the state level. Yet, the oppression of our people is not limited to ethnicity; it encompasses, gender, class, sexual orientation, and freedom of speech. Our campesinos are being exposed to deadly chemicals, our women are being abused, our urban workers are losing their jobs due to run-away factories, our teachers are being denied the right to teach our history to our children. In addition to losing good jobs due to newly transferred factories into the Third World, *a nuestras obreras y obreros se les niega el derecho de hablar español entre ellos, pero se les llama para servir de intérpretes cuando los jefes no se pueden comunicar con nuestra gente.* Chicanos and Chicanas who do not play by the institutional rules are being punished for speaking out against institutions that wish to maintain the myth of the humble Mexican and the "mexicana sumisa, respetuosa, sufrida y obediente." It seems as if time had stopped, perhaps retrogressed. Our people, our communities are today reliving the same oppressions experienced by those Chicanas and Chicanos who preceded us.

Chicana and Chicano Identity: Now a Secondary Priority?

The articles presented in *Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions* speak, as Yolanda Broyles-González points out, of "multiple oppressions." We have used Ana Castillo's quote at the opening of this preface because it summarizes and gives a clear perspective of what happens when we do not conform to the norms set by society or the institutions where we, as Chicanas and Chicanos, are working today. The politics of "divide and conquer" seem to work in many of the institutions of higher education. Today, throughout the United States

there is talk of "diversity," "multiculturalism," "tolerance," and "globalization." In terms of US Latinos, in particular, Chicano Studies Programs are disappearing to become part of "Ethnic Studies," "American Studies," "Latin American/Latino Studies." What is also occurring is that with the "merging" of these programs, Chicana/o identity and politics are becoming a secondary priority. At a time in which financial aid is becoming scarce and exclusionary requirements are being reinstated to keep our younger generations out of the university, our students are being led to believe that "Latino" is a better identity term because it is more "inclusive." It is perhaps so for the tenured faculty leading those merges and changes. However, as in the sixties and seventies, at colleges and universities across the Southwest and beyond there are some Chicana and Chicano students who are claiming their *Chicanidad*, their *Mexicanidad* and fighting to keep the university's door open to our working class barrio. Is there a generational clash occurring before us? The University of California, Berkeley (UCB) is a clear example of the struggle to maintain Chicana and Chicano identity. During our 1997 Sacramento conference there was a flyer of a student that stated:

> I didn't change my name to Jennifer because if sounded better to mainstream society. CHALE! It says Jennie on my birth certificate and that's the way it will stay, at least for now. And I didn't change Luna to Moon in order to comply with possible English-only laws, no way . . . my name is far too important and significant for me to change it in order to please or make others feel more comfortable with it.
>
> The title of our program is just as significant as people who teach it and the courses offered. It is a reflection of the students, the beliefs, politics, and experience of all Raza. Never did I think our Xicano faculty would go to the level of making our program more "marketable" by changing the name to the Chicana(o) and Latina(o) Studies Program . . ..
>
> They all gave their reasons, etc. None seem good enough for me and did not address the conceptual and ideological beliefs behind Chicano Studies. The Indigenous perspectives were glanced over as an insignificant point, except by Professor Carlos Muñoz Jr. who on the contrary thought that adding the word Latino would mean the "inclusion of all Indigenous people of the Americas." I wonder if he would change the title of his book to be "Chicana(o) and Latina (o) Youth Identity and Power." Professor Mario Barrera believes that he is able to use the words "Chicano" and "Latino" interchangeably to identify himself. He said that "sometimes he called himself Chicano and sometimes Latino." . . . Professor José Saldívar commented that we should change the name in order to "explore the U.S. Latinos on a political and ideological level." Professors Norma Alarcón and Alex Saragoza believe that this name will "be a move forward" and that this idea of "expansion will enrich us all." . . .
>
> So what's in a name? A lot . . .. The changing of the name felt like a defeat, but more so, it felt like an uncertainty as to the future of Chicano Studies. No compromise could have been made on behalf of the students. We stood firm on the word "Chicano" and all that it is symbolic of and all that it represents. (Jennie Marie Luna, 1997.)

The flyer caught our attention because we see the same phenomenon in other regions of the United States. We quote it in this preface because the flyer addresses some of the concerns that our students and faculty (see: Raoul Contreras and René Núñez articles) in NACCS have been bringing to the conferences. As an organization, NACCS needs to address the issue of name and curriculum changes in Chicana/o Studies and investigate what is happening to Chicana and Chicano identity in departments that do not have those names. We raise the questions: How are the Latin American/Latino Studies programs addressing Chicana and Chicano identity at institutions where the majority of the Latino students are of Mexican descent? How are Ethnic Studies programs doing the same? And American Studies programs? We need to find out what percentage of faculty in those programs are Chicana and Chicano and, above all, we need to find out what is happening to the Chicana and Chicano faculty who are affiliated with those programs since frequently they must be evaluated by two departments when they come up for tenure or promotions. We need to ask why tenured Chicana/o faculty, some being founders of programs in Chicana/o Studies, cease to attend and work within NACCS once their program has merged into a supposedly more inclusive one. Is multiculturalism a new way to promote assimilation? Does "American inclusivity" mean desertion of the barrio, our university community, and/or our gente?

NACCS Action and Accomplishments

The keynote addresses of Yolanda Broyles-González and Adaljiza Sosa Ridell emphasize the need for immediate action from the NACCS Coordinating Committee and its membership at large on women's issues. Every year we see cases of women who are being harassed or discriminated against at their institutions at the level of promotion and pay. Many of them have been isolated and have suffered retaliation from both colleagues and administrators. They have been left with nowhere to go, except to their friends and families. Some of them, like Broyles-González, have set a precedent for not only Chicanas in NACCS but all women across the United States. It can be a long and lonely battle, but fighting for the truth and for what one believes must prevail over fear and intimidation. Resistance is a necessity; it has been part of our historical tradition.

The Rudy Acuña case, which preceded the struggle by Yolanda Broyles-González, proved that age, ethnicity, and gender discrimination goes beyond being a Chicana female. It also demonstrated once again that when we unite behind the members of our scholarly community, there are accomplishments and triumphs. His case and Yolanda Broyles-González's are clear examples of resistance to multiple re-oppressions. Moreover,

the cases that have followed show that there continues to exist the pattern of institutionalized racism and discrimination. Ironically, ethnic and Anglo administrators hide their hegemonic role behind the calls for "multiculturalism" and "diversity."

Today, some universities, whose administrators pride themselves on being inclusive and sensitive to ethnic differences, still naively believe that hiring a few brown faces will eradicate the oppression which Latinos, particularly Chicanos, suffer in various departments. University administrators need to take a closer look at diversity among Latinos and how their hires are linked and benefit the targeted Latino community. They need to learn not only about our similarities but also our different historical experience in the United States and how both affect the future of our gente. Today, as in the past, Chicanas and Chicanos are placed at the bottom of all Latinos and quite frequently, Chicanas/os face not only White discrimination and oppression but also the same from other Latinos. That discrimination has to do with gender, race, class and ethnicity. Institutions must learn that when they place all of us under an umbrella, not all of us get covered by the rain or the sun. Just imagine *una olla de frijoles with habichuelas puertorriqueñas, frijoles negros cubanos, frijoles pintos mexicanos* and some Central and South American *condimentos*. Cook them all together and what do we get? The result is something that will not be liked by everyone because each food is part of a particular cultural ethnicity. We can cook them together, but we can not expect to taste the same flavor that is particular of a Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Central or South American dish.

Therefore, what we find is that we need to continue to work together, as NACCS and other Latino scholarly associations have done throughout the years, but remembering to respect our similarities and differences. We must remember the history of the Chicano Movement where Puerto Rican, Cubans and other Latinos became part of social change. We need to accept, not tolerate, our differences not only in terms of political ideology, historical experience and ethnicity but also in terms of gender orientation.

This volume, *Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions*, also includes eight scholarly articles from the social sciences, literature, and the fine arts. Those from the social sciences examine standing and pressing issues such as Chicana/o Studies, Bilingual Education, US English, Immigration, and NAFTA. We also include two articles in literary criticism, one article on the history and practice of Danza Azteca as well as two short stories.

Chicana/o Studies: Its Founding Principles and Resonance

Regarding Chicana/o Studies, two articles, "Chicano Studies: A Political Strategy of the Chicano Movement" by Raoul Contreras and

"Frijoles, Sushi, and Chittlins on a Bagel: Trivializing Chicana/o Studies Through Politically Correct and Racist Educational Practice" by Randall C. Jiménez, offer the necessary parameters to examine current developments in Chicana/o Studies programs and departments, such as the founding principles of such university units and the merging of them into other academic programs (Ethnic Studies, American Studies, Latin American/Latino Studies). Perhaps their reading can lead to future constructive action on the part of NACCS and its members which will benefit Chicana/o Studies programs in general.

The article "Chicano Studies: A Political Strategy of the Chicano Movement" by Raoul Contreras presents a solid study grounded in colonial discourse, including its expression as internal colonialism among Chicanas/os. The analysis is rich in citing standing scholarship: Joan Moore, Tomás Almaguer, Guillermo Flores, Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Rodolfo Acuña, Carlos Muñoz Jr., Mario Barrera, and Alfredo Mirandé. Contreras claims "an ideological role," anti-colonialist, for Chicano internal colony theory, particularly its encompassing and unifying of "heterogeneous ideological manifestations of the Chicano Movement": nationalism, cultural nationalism, Marxism, liberalism, feminism. Moreover, he analyzes the role of Octavio Romano IV and the resonance of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* in helping programs and departments in Chicano Studies stay course in their anti-colonialist principles.

With his article "Frijoles, Sushi, and Chittlings on a Bagel: Trivializing Chicana/o Studies Through Politically Correct and Racist Educational Practice," Randall C. Jiménez provides an excellent insider's view into university classes in "cultural pluralism," exposing their dilution of Chicana/o Studies principles and scholarship. He sees the need to develop a cross-cultural paradigm with a contestatory Chicana/o perspective. Jiménez's role and input in the Ethnic Studies Task Force at San José State University serves as a model for Chicana/o Studies professors who do not distance themselves but remain aligned with NACCS after an academic merger of a Chicana/o Studies program with another ethnic or cultural unit.

Standing and Pressing Issues: Bilingual Education, US English Only, Immigration, and NAFTA

On the struggle against the English Only Movement and for Bilingual Education, we publish two timely articles: "The Benefits of Bilingualism and the Flaws of the Bilingual Education System" by Liz M. López and "US English and the Anti-Immigration Backlash: What Is Behind and Below?" co-authored by José Soltero and Sonia White-Soltero. Both studies

are richly armed with information on the current linguistic repression being faced by our gente and university programs. López documents the history of bilingual education from its inception in the 1960s to today, demonstrating its systematic dilution (financially and academically) since the days of the Reagan presidency. In their article "US English and the Anti-Immigration Backlash: What Is Behind and Below?", José Soltero and Sonia White-Soltero document and show California's Propositions 187 and 227 as part of a national anti-immigrant campaign. Basing their interpretation on the split labor market theory, they argue that Anglo-American labor, and some minority workers, have supported such popular legislative initiatives because they "feel threatened by skin-colored third-world immigrants."

Since NACCS officially denied in 1992 support to the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the article "Was NAFTA a Blessing or a Curse to Mexico's Environmental Politics?" by Liz M. López represents a timely report on the agreement's developments in the past seven years, particularly regarding the impact on the environment along the US-Mexico border. The documentation provides a brief but rich history on NAFTA's origin and evolution, the side agreements, periodic evaluations, and its fifth anniversary in July 1997. Lastly, the article documents infrastructure problems, uneven environmental enforcement, and limited Mexican funds–all highly important concerns for the coming re-evaluation of NAFTA in the year 2001.

Literary Criticism, Danza Azteca, and Homoerotic Writing

The two articles on Alejandro Morales represent an addendum to the 1996 collection *Alejandro Morales: Fiction Past, Present, Future Perfect* edited by José Antonio Gurpegui. With his comparative and ideological study "Rethinking Chicana/o Identity and Nationalism in the Fiction of Alejandro Morales," Tim Libretti joins previous Chicana/o critics who have written on the theme of Chicana/o identity. Focusing on the novel *La verdad sin voz* (*Death of an Anglo*; 1979) by Alejandro Morales, the critic bases his hypothesis on Ramón Saldívar's notion of "dialectics of identity and difference" and argues that Morales "creatively extends and redirects" such tradition. Libretti suggests the novelist holds that identity cannot be based solely on race but includes political commitment with the barrio.

In her article, Gabriella Gutiérrez y Muhs opens a unique critical perspective on Alejandro Morales and other male narrators–a feminist reading. Using performance theory as developed by Erving Goffman and supporting her arguments with critical concepts from Emily Hicks, Erlinda Gonzales-Berry, Michel Foucault, and Ramón Saldívar, she takes to task Mario T. García's recent essay on the novel *The Brick People* (1988) where the historian chastises the novelist Morales for a reductionist symbolization of the female characters. In her study "*The Brick People*: Brick Layering

of Female Subjects in Morales' Novel" she hypothesizes that García does an "ephemeral reading of gender, male/female relationships, and specifically women's actions," perhaps only an "afterthought." Gutiérrez y Muhs herself adheres to Goffman's call for a more expansive theoretical space with interdisciplinary approaches and subsequently shows how *The Brick People* reinscribes Chicana history and daily life: land ownership, anti-genocide opposition, community healing, family headship, child defender, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law solidarity, critics of technology, and self-affirming females.

Winner of the NACCS 1996 Undergraduate Premio Award, the essay "Danza Azteca: Xicana/o Life-Cycle Ritual and Autonomous Culture" by Enrique Maestas opens a brand new area in Chicana/o Studies: Chicana/o dance. Particularly, the author has done extensive research on its Aztec expression as practiced since the mid-1960s in our barrio and university communities. His article is richly grounded in existing scholarship on Mexican dance and also takes into account key contemporary cultural Chicana/o texts and scholars. For a critical approach, Maestas draws on cultural resistance theory from, among others, David T. Abalos, Miguel León-Portilla, and Norma Williams. He concludes that, since the mid-1960s, Danza Azteca has provided "integration for the community, family, and individual" and is transforming Chicana/o consciousness "in a direction more pertinent to the modern world."

One of the main discourses in Chicana/o literature since 1981, homoerotic writing is present in our collection, *Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions,* through the short stories "Cholo / salvatrucho" by Horacio N. Roque-Ramírez and "[E]sto es lo que hago" by Paul Arturo Cabral, Jr. In the pachucolike and seductive short story "Cholo / salvatrucho," Roque-Ramírez not only shows linguistic craftsmanship in Spanish–leading and double-edge–similar to work by Miguel Méndez-M., Aristeo Brito, and Ricardo Aguilar Melantzón, but creates another rich, memorable character in US Latino/Chicano literature. In "[E]sto es lo que hago" Paul Arturo Cabral, Jr. shares a raw and moving story which leaves the reader wanting more. The salted Spanish in an English-dominant text marks the bilingual medium in the best tradition of contemporary Chicana/o literature. "Esto es lo que hago" brings to mind a defiant tone as in J. L. Navarro, Gloria Anzaldúa, José Montoya, and Alejandro Morales–particularly *Caras Viejas y Vino Nuevo.*

Join the Resistance Against Re-Oppressions

Like us, we hope you enjoy reading all the selected texts inside *Mapping Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple (Re)Oppressions.* The keynote address, the research articles, the student

Premio paper, and the short stories, all address standing and pressing issues we are struggling to resolve. Like us, we hope you learn from all of them. Moreover, please join us in 1) mapping strategies against the re-oppressive conditions they address and 2) writing future scholarship on taken actions and reached solutions.

As we leave San Antonio and go back to our schools, to our jobs; as we move on with our work and our lives, we would like to encourage all of you to speak out and support those Chicanas and Chicanos who have taken the decision to fight back. To the students and to our community, we ask that you remember that it is only through education that we will be able to resist and/or eradicate ignorance and intolerance toward our gente. As NACCSistas, it is through our research and the commitment to our people that we will be able to challenge the multiple oppressions and re-oppressions that we will encounter in our individual and collective paths.

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DePaul University, Chicago

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I

The National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies 1996 Keynote Addresses

Chicago Based Excerpt from Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays In Xicanisma (1994)

Ana Castillo
Keynote Speaker for the Chicana Caucus

While I descend from Mexic Amerindian linage, the fact that I was born and raised in the United States, a descendent of one and two generations of migrants from Mexico, and was raised in the inner city of Chicago (Place of Wild Onions), means that I have been completely alienated from my indigenous connection to the Americas. This led me as a graduate student at the University of Chicago to prepare a final thesis entitled: "The Idealization and Reality of the Mexican Indian Woman." I researched and used documentation from two fields: imaginative literature and anthropology.

Unfortunately the writings of mestizos, criollos,[1] Spaniards, and Anglos from the nineteenth century up to that time (1979) did not reveal anything more than stereotypes. At best I found ethnographic data that ultimately did not bring me closer to understanding how the Mexic Amerindian woman truly perceives herself since anthropology is traditionally based on the objectification of its subjects. Furthermore, to my mind, the Mexic Amerindian woman has been gagged for hundreds of years. I not only refer to the literal silencing of the Mexican indigenous population, economically impoverished and therefore powerless and voiceless, but also the censorship that results from double sexism, being female and indigenous. The Mexic Amerindian woman has inherited the sexism instituted by dominant Mexican and U. S. society compounded by the sexism within certain oppressed indigenous cultures. In neither the creative literature nor the ethnographic documentation, did I hear her speak for herself. Only in 1992, the quincentenary of European conquest,

was the world delivered the voice of *one* Mesoamerican woman, the Mayan Rigoberta Menchú who received the Nobel Peace Prize for her ongoing activism on behalf of her people's human rights.

In graduate school, perceiving myself as a Mexic Amerindian woman once removed, I wrote the autobiographical poem "Entre primavera y otoño." In poetry I have found the freedom to speak both from my mind and heart. In this poem, I liken myself to the silenced indigenous woman of México. It begins:

> La india carga su bandera
> sobre su cara
> manchada de sangre
> sus cicatrices corren
> como las carreteras viejas
> de su tierra
> y la india no se queja.[2]

The Indian woman carries her flag/over her face/blood stained/her scars run/like old roads through her land/and the Indian woman does not complain.

Most Mexicans are mestizo/as and by and large mostly Mexic Amerindian. However the denigration of our indigenous blood has been so pervasive that few of us, especially in the past, have claimed our lineage. During the Colonial period of Mexico, a mestizo with money could buy his whiteness, thereby also purchasing the privileges reserved for criollos and Europeans. While mestizo/as came to compose the majority in Mexico, in the United States, genocide of the Native American was the preferred alternative for the Anglo for establishing a new nation.

It has been said of me and of my writing that I am in search of identity, as indeed we all are, which is a fact of living in a world of fragmented selves. White men (and white women) have always attempted this through their writing; and because they are members of dominant society, their search was considered representative of all, therefore, universal. On the other hand, the search by those of us who come from marginalized cultures in the United States is categorized as a sociological dilemma or a schizophrenic self-perception.

In graduate school I did indeed search for some clue to a crucial part of my "identity" inherent in the Mexic Amerindian woman. Unfortunately and not surprisingly, I certainly did not find her within the ivy halls of academia. In 1979 the first generation of college educated Chicanas was in the making and their investigations and publications were also difficult to come by. It was indeed a question of each one becoming a *re-conquistadora,* exploring herself as subject through scholarship. Although I had no interest in pursuing a doctorate after receiving my Master's Degree in Social Science (Latin American and Caribbean Studies), my informal

investigations as a creative writer and my own analyses with regard to being Chicana continued to feed the search for my Mexic Amerindian woman sense of self.

Notes

1. In Mexico, a *criollo* is a Mexican-born individual of full-blooded Spanish lineage. Despite the Spanish descent, a criollo in the Colonial period was not granted the same status as a Spanish-born subject.
2. First published in River Styx 7 (Big River Assn., MO, 1980). It is also in my book, *My Father Was a Toltec and Selected Poems* (1974-1988) (New York; W. W. Norton, 1994).

Acuña vs. *the Regents of the University of California, Santa Bárbara* et al.

Rodolfo F. Acuña
California State University, Northridge

My case against the University of California (UC) ended in the fall of 1995 after a three-week trial and what amounted to about four years of combat against one of the largest and most powerful corporations in the state of California. The case alleged political, race and age discrimination. The strategy of the defendants was to outspend me, which considering my salary was not too far-fetched. In the end, they spent more than $5 million[1] only to have a jury find that their reasons for their denial as being pretextual and that the UC and its agents did discriminate against me.

Because of the type of war that we had to wage against the University of California system, the victory was not a total one. I had a difficult time assembling a team of lawyers who would fight the kind of battle that I wanted to pursue, or that would take the risk of losing their fees in the probability that we would lose. The truth is that there are very few Chicano attorneys who are experts in employment discrimination law, and even fewer who have the resources to take them on. Due to this weakness, we lost our political cause of action because the Center for Constitutional Rights missed the statute of limitations by two months. We lost our race and ethnicity cause of action because what I believe to be the collusion of the judge with the UC. We just did not have the resources to appeal her decision. Yet, we stayed alive, and limited in court.

In the federal court we lucked out. We drew an almost all minority jury, which is not normal in federal court where most jurors are white, male, and professional. The attorneys who tried the case are with us today:

Beth Minsky of the National Coalition of Universities in the Public Interest has been with us from the beginning. She did not

participate in the trial because we had run out of money. My credit cards we maxed out. Beth, however, kept the case alive during the first two years of the trial. She had a lot to do with getting the extensive discovery that we obtained from the UC, which proved among other things the intellectual incestuous culture of the University of California, Santa Bárbara. If the peer reviewers believed you were a good citizen they would literally forgive you anything. Sexual harassment and even sexual assault was forgivable if you published and were part of the network. Moreover, there was a double standard when it came to the review of Chicana and Chicano Faculty. For the exception of one anthropologist from Mexico, there were negative comments in the files of all the Chicana/o faculty, which questioned their research.

Moisés Vázquez was the lead attorney. He came on the case when the UC changed our venue from Alameda County to Santa Barbara. We were in danger of losing the case. Moisés came aboard to help us with a couple of depositions, but ended up doing the bulk of the work. We stressed his facilities and more than once the phones were disconnected. However, he waged a guerrilla war. I spent my sabbatical writing answers to motions in limine, which Moisés would translate into legal babble. Before we began the case, Moisés had not had many employment discrimination cases. Today he is the leading Chicano employment discrimination attorney in the country. He was the perfect general for our team.

Next, Eliot Grossman was one of the trial attorneys. He is a comrade, who I have known since about 1984. His scathing depositions tore the defendants apart. In court, he flirted with the edges, going just far enough without being held in contempt. He is also the attorney whose ideological perspective of the case kept us on track.

The fourth attorney present is Millie Escobedo. She is also the youngest. She was 27 years of age when the case began. She chose to become a solo practitioner. She chose to specialize in criminal law. In court she is brilliant. She is very competitive, always in your face. Many jurors were intrigued by Millie.

Not all of the attorneys could come to Chicago. As I said initially, they are not wealthy attorneys. Silvia Argueta, a Guatemalan, works for the American Civil Liberties Union. We could not have gotten to court without her. Miguel Caballero worked for the California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA). He is one of the most dedicated and genuinely nice people who I know. There are other Chicana/o attorneys who contributed

to the case, who took one or two depositions or came to the meetings. Jesús Cruz, a paralegal, donated his time.

Why was the Case Important?

The case has to be put into the context of Proposition 187, which dominated the discourse while we were preparing to go to trial. When listening to the testimony of many reviewers, the parallels between the rhetoric behind 187 and reviews were inescapable. The shrillness–the hysteria –came through in both cases. The hypocrisy and the arrogance of white scholars showed in their claiming the truth and objectivity. Extolling the time-tested nature of their reviews. As we went to trial, 209 began to dominate the popular discourse, and again the similarity in the rationality was striking. Nevertheless, more important, I became convinced that we as a people had to develop a litigation strategy. The culture of academe and society was not one that would permit effective participation by Chicanos or Latinos.

The case reaffirmed my faith in the working class. I sincerely believe that if we can get cases before juries consisting of people of color that we can achieve a measure of justice. The judicial system is however totally corrupt and driven by money. It also has a culture of its own, and it bases all of its decisions on a positivist view of the world. On my part, the intellectual experience was fascinating. It not only exposed me to the law, but the different legal theories. The work of Richard Delgado, Derrick Bell, and Patricia Williams, among others, brought freshness to scholarly rhetoric which is for the most part reductionist.

Lastly, it made me more cynical. More important it taught me the value of cynicism. When I applied to UCSB, after being asked by students and the chair to do so, there was opposition to my candidacy. The people who opposed it had every right in the world to oppose me. However, I do not believe that they had the right to be intellectually dishonest and to do it with *mano escondida*. The truth be told, if I had known about their opposition, I would have withdrawn my candidacy, which I advanced in the first place to please my wife. The malicious nature of this opposition will become known when I place all the confidential correspondence into an archive for scholars to see for themselves. Indeed, much of the opposition verged on being sick. Moreover, Raymond Huerta, the so-called affirmative action office, and Francisco Lomelí signed affidavits saying that they feared for their lives if I would become a member of the faculty. These same gentlemen swore during a deposition that there was no discrimination toward Mexicans at UCSB. Lomelí said that the only discrimination that he saw was by Dr. Yolanda Broyles-González, who did not vote for an Anglo candidate for a position in Chicano studies.

The lesson here is that I should have listened to my attorneys and treated the Chicana/o administration friendly professors as the enemy. As such, I did not call any of them as witnesses since I thought that they would at least remain neutral. It was not until we confronted them in court that I listened to Moisés who told me to grow up. We were at least $2 million in attorney hours into this case. He then pulled the gloves.

Conclusion

My years as an activist have taught me to focus on issues. I never, for example, saw the Chicanas/os at UCSB as enemies. I knew that none of them were activists either as students or as faculty members. Most had not even been raised in a Mexican American culture. During my years as an activist I had occasion to have ideological struggles with a wide spectrum of individuals and groups. Yet, I always knew that no matter how bitter the struggle was that I would probably be working with my opposition in the future. There were always Bakke or chancellors to fight. With academics, no matter what color, it is not the issue; it is their ego. Very few have an idea of materialism with Yolanda Broyles-González and Mary Pardo being exceptions. Yolanda or Mary would never ask me, for example, for my theory of gender. They would ask how would you change the conditions in such or such setting to develop the space where women could develop their own definitions. Academics overall like theory because they like the sound of their words. This became brutally clear to me during the trial when the Chicana/o scholars testifying for the administration dined and drank with UC attorneys and administrators at the New Otani at the same time that working class Latinas picketed outside the hotel in a life and death struggle.

Notes

1. The estimate may be low. Corbett & I Kane admitted to $2.7 million in fees. Another trial lawyer received $50,000. My attorneys received $900,000; I received $300,000. And, we conservatively estimate that they spent another $1 million internally. Most of my money went to payoff the credit cards, taxes, and to start a Foundation to fight discrimination in higher education.

Taking Back Chicana and Chicano Studies: Reflections on Chicana/o Student/Faculty Relations[1]

René Núñez
San Diego State University

In the last decade [1986-1996] we have seen wave after wave of anti-Mexican, anti-immigrant and anti-student attacks in California. In 1986, Proposition 63, an initiative that declared English the official language of California, passed by a wide margin. Although this proposition had no real impact upon those who speak non-English languages, it anticipated what was to come.

In 1994, Proposition 187, an anti-immigrant initiative, was passed by 59% of the California electorate. It threatened to withhold public education, social services and non-emergency health programs from undocumented families. It called for local officials to report anyone whom they suspected of being "illegal." At San Diego State University (SDSU) over one-hundred resident Latino students did not return in the 1995-96 school, because they did not have "proper documentation."

This was followed in 1996 by Proposition 209, the so-called California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), which Californians passed by 55%. This initiative attacked affirmative action programs, banning racial and gender preferences in state and local government. Former governor Pete Wilson successfully pushed for the abolition of affirmative action policies throughout the state, arguing that the awarding of government jobs and college and university admissions should not consider race or sex but only "individual merit." The regents of the University of California system, under pressure from the governor, rescinded admissions policies that

considered race and gender in their decisions. One year after Proposition 209 passed, the University of California (UC) reported precipitous drops in the numbers of African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans admitted to their top two campuses (Guinier 1998). The trio of African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans are considered "underrepresented minorities." UC Berkeley reported a drop of 61% in admissions of these groups, while UCLA reported a drop of 36% (Locke, April 1, 1998).

The attacks continued with passage of Proposition 227, the initiative to abolish bilingual education, in June of 1998. This initiative, passed by 61% of the electorate, will require that 1.4 million California school children classified as limited-English proficient, a quarter of the total, will be given one year of special sheltered English immersion classes and then transferred into mainstream English classes.

Two patterns have developed. At the national level, these initiatives have triggered similar movements, while at the California state level new attacks are in the offing. For example, fourteen states are considering challenging affirmative action; Congress is attempting to cut off federal aid to public and private colleges and universities that consider race, ethnicity or gender in its admissions process. At the state level, Ethnic Studies as well as other ethnic activities such as ethnic-themed graduation events are currently under fire. Ward Connerly, the main force behind Proposition 209, now wants to topple Ethnic Studies within the UC system (Gonzales and Rodríguez 1998). "I'm not too sure that the university ought to be frittering away money on identity and putting you in touch with your heritage," notes Connerly.[2] He sees these programs as "lingering trappings of affirmative action" (Locke, June 17, 1998).

Our communities are under siege on other fronts as well. The English Only Movement assaulted our mother tongue, while Proposition 187 focused on immigrant mothers and children (Chávez 1994). The escalating militarization of the United States (US)-México border has brought about many deaths along the border. Cuts in welfare in California were pushed through the assembly under the leadership of the governor. Attacks on the eight-hour workday are common.[3] Our communities are facing layoffs due to industrial downsizing. Moreover, while this downsizing continues to erode the collective incomes, as well as the quality of life of our communities, the stock market continues to flourish and the economy grows as the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. The causes of the misery that this is creating in the working and poor classes, rather than recognized as consequences of the maneuvering for profits of private enterprise, are being placed squarely on the shoulders of immigrants. Immigrants are being scapegoated. They blame Mexicans for taking the jobs of others, for committing crimes and using up social services. However,

it is they who are at the root of the economic downturns and the problems of this country.

While these conditions prevail, many of us-academics-ponder the nature of Chicana/o[4] Studies and our role in this social process. Chicana/o Studies was established precisely to combat these assaults on our community. Students continue to take to the streets, take over buildings, and carry out hunger strikes as they attempt to make a difference. In the midst of this battle, they adhere to the call, "Taking Back of Chicano Studies."

While some of us may believe that we are immune from this process, ensconced in our tenured doctoral positions, I would remind us, as Chicanas/os, of the words of Rudy Acuña that we, as individuals, are not liberated until our communities are liberated.

Therefore, what do the students mean by "Taking Back Chicano Studies"? I believe that they are calling for a return of Chicano Studies to its original principles. In the following pages, I will explore this theme. I will argue that the organizational basis for an authentic Chicana/o Studies, whether in the form of university departments and programs or in the form of a national organization such as the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), must be an expression of the politics of the Chicana/o Movement. Specifically, I will advocate that, as Chicana/o Studies, we must reaffirm and implement the ideological principles of the Chicana/o Movement if we are to adequately address the economic, political and social problems that face the Chicana/o community. These principles were articulated in early Chicana/o writings, and most assertively expressed by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*[5] (Núñez and Contreras 1992).

I will begin by sharing with you some observations that fall under the rubric of "Taking Back Chicana/o Studies." Then I will paint in broad strokes three areas of Chicana/o Movement politics that we must revisit in order to answer the question concerning political organization. First, what are the origins of the Chicana/o Movement and Chicana/o Studies? Second, how were the principles that were reflected in these origins manifested? Third, how are these principles demonstrated today, among those of us that identify as Chicanas and Chicanos? I will conclude by presenting Raoul Contreras' (1995a) model of a "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies" as the ideological component of a movement that can begin to move us toward resolution of the adverse social conditions faced by the Chicana/o community.

Taking Back Chicana/o Studies

In 1995 the central theme of the statewide California conference of the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Azltán (MEChA) at the University of Southern California (USC) was: "Taking Back Chicano Studies." But what

did it mean for students to be in a situation in which Chicano Studies had to be retaken? Students from several universities expressed a general alienation from departments and programs in Chicano Studies. Part of their dilemma was bound up in a feeling that Chicana/o professors in Chicana/o Studies, and in the campus at large, were not being accountable to the Chicana/o Movement. However, it was recognized that this was not the only source of problems for Chicana/o Studies and Chicana/o politics on campuses.

In this discussion two general problem areas were identified–one which is *external* to Chicana/o Studies and emanates from the university administration, popular opinion and society at large. The second, and uppermost in the minds of students, is *internal* and originates in processes within Chicana/o Studies; it is reflected in the views and practices of faculty and staff as well as those within MEChA.

External Problems

An example of the external problem is reflected in a presentation that was given at the California State University-wide Chicano/Latino Summit held in San Francisco in November 1995. María Nieto Senour (1995), a faculty member in the School of Education at San Diego State University, raised questions concerning the contradiction between research and publishing, on one hand, and service to the university, on the other. She noted that work connected to our communities, one of the basis for the work of Chicana/o faculty, is not valued by the university and consequently, Chicana/o faculty, in their preparation for promotion and tenure, have allowed it to fall to the wayside in favor of research and publication. She felt that Chicana/o professors were being co-opted through their adaptation to university demands.

This assertion has two aspects worth probing. The first concerns the role of the university as it acts in accord with its political agenda as a public university, while the second reflects the inability of Chicana/o politics to protect its interests and to struggle for the recognition of its needs *vis-à-vis* the university.

In the case of Chicana/o faculty, Nieto Senour called upon the university to broaden the review process to include credit for service, direct involvement in their communities, as well as teaching and publication. Her call to the 1995 CSU conference, on the other hand, was for action. This call demanded that Chicana/o faculty and staff confront the barriers encountered at the university in order to free themselves from the limiting strictures of the university that demarcate what is understood to be the work of Chicana/o intellectuals, on one hand, and academics, on the other.

She also called for a return of Chicana/o academicians to the role of activist-scholars.

Implicit in Nieto Senour's challenge is a lack of political direction of Chicana/o faculty in various departments of the universities. Due to the demands of research and publication, political involvement in the community has been limited. Chicanas/os have failed to mount a struggle in the campus political arena that maintains its interest, in this case, obtaining credit for service that would allow and encourage more community involvement.[6]

Internal Problems

An example of the internal problem is illustrated in a discussion that occurred at SDSU between MEChA and the faculty of Chicana and Chicano Studies Department (CCSD) in November of 1995. At a student sponsored Meet the Faculty Day, student organizations including MEChA, Latina sororities, and others presented their concerns.

The students felt that communication between themselves and CCSD was inadequate and, consequently, this led to poor support at conferences and meetings. While they believed that the department was supportive, in some ways, the students felt little sense of community. They were convinced that the department was stagnating and that the faculty was also comfortable and conforming. They believed that unity among the faculty was lacking and that this was detrimental to student unity. MEChA demanded a new level of organization. They called for the development of a viable dialogue with the CCSD, insisting for a voice in its affairs and formed a Task Force on Chicano Studies[7] to evaluate this problem.

Department faculty, taken by surprise, responded in a somewhat disconcerted manner. It was difficult for some of them to comprehend what MEChA was charging, since the department considers itself progressive and political. The department chair outlined the many departmental programs and procedures that are pro-student. For instance, the Chicana and Chicano Studies Department faculty has organized a viable supportive organization for majors and minors; they have also established a strong mentoring program. The department provides funds for MEChA functions, brings political speakers to campus, and supports community organizers by inviting them into the class in order to recruit students to their causes. Political activity includes advocating to dispel stereotypes of Chicanas/os, opposition to various attacks on Chicana/o culture, and the maintenance of a struggle against sexism, and in support of gender equity, as well as a commitment to the increase of Latina faculty in the department.

At first glance one might come away confused. Chicana and Chicano Studies faculty at SDSU comprises a visibly functional, consciously political

department. Clearly there is a disjunction between what the department understands as Chicana/o politics and what the students understand what politics ought to be. The Chicana and Chicano Studies Department at SDSU considers itself committed to Chicana/o politics, which is reflected in their day to day work in practical politics. However, the students want more than this. Referring to the history of Chicana and Chicano Studies and MEChA at SDSU, the students asserted that the two groups at one time were synonymous with working and socializing together.

MEChA's presentation outlined a number of areas in which they sought involvement. They asked for input into departmental functions, a higher degree of faculty presence, and involvement in student activities, and a departmental forum for presenting their concerns. They requested involvement in curriculum development and asked to have a class on leadership and organization. They proposed to establish a process for evaluating professors and their materials and survey what students have learned. Finally, they requested that a student work with CCSD on departmental matters, research, and campus issues. They also asked for a historical update of the department.

The problem identified by MEChA at SDSU can be applied to Chicana/o studies and Chicana/o faculty everywhere. This was demonstrated through the actions of students at the 1996 NACCS conference, where a version of this paper was delivered at the first plenary session. A student approached me on the stage after the presentation and handed me this note:

> I go to the University of Arizona. What you said about the alienation between the students and faculty I agree with, even though I'm not at the university you mentioned. I feel very alienated from the faculty, department, etc. Do you think you could ask the audience if they feel the same? That it's not our imagination about the services of providing continuous dialogue between the higher ups and the students.

After the final speaker, I returned to the mike and read this note. Students throughout the auditorium stood. It was an awesome demonstration of student dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs in Chicana/o campus relations. To the credit of the faculty, a number of professors gathered the students immediately after the plenary to find out what this meant. This reaction could probably have been predicted given that, as already noted, MEChA statewide in California had devoted its 1995 statewide conference to the call, "Taking Back Chicano Studies." At this conference a number of specific problems concerning departments and faculty were raised. Students from the University of California at Berkeley raised issues concerning the "Chicano Studies struggle" on their campus. One student declared, "As students we have taken up responsibility to

initiate dialogue and strategies to maintain and expand our program in a time of racist policies" (UCB Flyer 1996). However, it seems that the faculty is not in tune with this.

It brings forward a contradiction that is of fundamental importance. How can two Chicana/o groups, both self-consciously political, find themselves at such divergent positions? This reflects a critical problem for the politics of Chicana/o Studies. It is clear that students are not an organic element of Chicana/o Studies, nor have they been part of Chicana/o Studies for some time. Further, the role of Chicana/o faculty laid out by the demands of a political Chicana/o Movement have been set aside.

The Origins of Chicano Politics

In a political sense, what does this alienation of Chicana/o students mean for Chicana/Chicano Studies? To clarify this I would like to review several key elements that form our knowledge of what Chicana/o Studies, and by extension, what the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies must aspire to be if they are to authentically represent Chicana/o Politics. First of all, Chicano Studies was established in the heat of a political struggle that challenged traditional Western Thought and social science.

Two conferences in 1969–the Chicano Youth Conferences held in Denver, Colorado and the Santa Bárbara conference that produced *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* (1969)–politically linked the Chicano Movement and Chicano Studies. The writings of early Chicana/o critics–Octavio Romano (1967, 1968, 1969, 1970), Nick Vaca (1970a, 1970b), Deluvina Hernández (1970), Carlos Muñoz Jr. (1970), and Raymond Rocco (1970)–intellectually explained this linkage. Their arguments held that Western thought, with its claim to objectivity, that is, an unbiased, culturally neutral approach to the research of social science, had established that the Mexican in the Southwest was apolitical as well as ahistorical. Western research held that Mexicans had been passive bystanders in the development of the Southwest. Further, the Mexican was seen as subhuman, a natural resource, much as African slaves were treated.[8] This provided the social justification for the Mexican's low status in society. It explained away the second-class citizenship bestowed on the Mexican community, as well as the exploitation of its labor.

Romano and others argued that, in fact, objectivity as presented in Western thought does not exist and that the findings of Western social science are faulty. They argued, and indeed it has been shown (McWilliams 1990), that far from an ahistorical, passive people, Mexicans were dynamic actors–active participants in the development of the West. They argued that the intent of the traditional approach was to convince people that its

perspectives were neutral, and objective, while any view that opposed it was biased and self-interested. This provided Western social scientists the ability to produce a Truth or a Knowledge that seemed to be universal and unbiased, which, however, favored their cultural group's priorities while negating life's necessities to other groups.

Chicanos challenged this way of thinking and, through this challenge, began to recover an authentic history of the Mexican community in this country. Romano predicted that a fundamental change would come about when "the studied began to study the studier." This process would introduce a new perspective of society that would illuminate the cracks in the old system of thought and begin the process of liberating Chicano communities from the oppressing conditions in which they found themselves. The very construction of traditional knowledge was challenged by this critique.

These views were brought to both the Denver and Santa Bárbara conferences and are expressed in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*[9]–the document for the institutionalization of Chicano Studies and the unification of Chicano student organizations under the acronym of MEChA. *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* contained three fundamental principles that guided the Chicano Movement and Chicano Studies: 1) the right of self-determination, 2) the inseparable link between Chicano Studies and the Chicano community, and 3) the role of Chicano Studies in training students in Chicano politics and developing plans, policies and strategies to meet the needs of the Chicano community (Núñez and Contreras 1984). In this formulation, Chicano students play a critical role in Chicano Studies; they constitute an organic element of the department or program. Chicano curriculum was developed around these principles and they were the foundation of Chicano university affairs. Chicano Studies was to be the ideological strategy for challenging traditional views and establishing a Chicano historical perspective. Finally, working closely with Chicano university staff and faculty, MEChA would act as both a political base for Chicano Studies and as the training ground for future community leaders.

Current Demonstration of Principles of Chicano Movement

These principles were reflected in later political analyses of the Chicana/o condition but were not consolidated in Chicano Thought. In the 1970s the concept of Internal Colony was elaborated by Chicana/o scholars Tomás Almaguer (1971), Mario Barrera, Charles Ornelas, and Carlos Muñoz (1972), and Mario Barrera (1979).[10] In the mid-1980s, Alfredo Mirandé (1985) argued the need for a Chicano Social Science Paradigm that would recognize that European models of social science did not apply to the Chicano community. This paradigm would acknowledge the internal colonial character of the relationship between the Chicano community and

the dominant social system. It would call for an alternate paradigm with a Chicano perspective. But it has been over ten years since Mirandé's call for this Chicano paradigm. Except for Irene Blea's (1988) support of Mirandé's Chicano Social Science Paradigm in late 1980s, Chicana/o scholars and intellectuals until very recently have addressed this issue only peripherally. Ignacio M. García (1997) notes that by the mid-1970s a Marxist critique had derailed the internal colony model. Chicana/o social scientists moved away from this framework because of its disregard of class divisions. García notes that Acuña's (1988) first edition of *Occupied America* provided a framework of internal colonialism to explain the Chicano condition, but that in following editions he had reconsidered his political model, rejecting the internal colony framework.

Raoul Contreras, however, in a presentation of the NACCS Midwest FOCO, asserts that colonialist theory was of critical importance to the Chicano movement. For Contreras, "internal colony theory was the academic or social theoretical expression of the Chicano Movement's anti-colonialist ideology" (1995b: 8). Its self-consciously critical political strategy rejected assimilation and affirmed Chicano self-determination. The Chicano argument, thus, presented an ideologically based challenge to traditional social science and its history.

Today these principles are reflected in the resurgence of Chicana/o student activism and their reliance on *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* as their political guide. Chicana/o students have not been passively accepting the attacks on the Chicana/o community; they have mounted resistance. The tactics of the 1960s Chicano Movement are being used today by high school and university Chicana/os. Since 1993, Latino high schoolers, reminiscent of the 1968 High School Blowouts, have been taking to the streets from Colorado to California and protesting various political issues. Student activism reached a high point with the massive 1994 blowouts in which 8,000 students responded to the passing of Proposition 187 by the California electorate (Martínez, September 1994, September 1996). Student organizers in the San Francisco Bay Area–Voices of Struggle (VOS)-have orchestrated several high school walkouts. In June of 1996 students protested against the 150th anniversary celebration of the Bear Flag Republic at an event where the Mexican flag was lowered to mark the US seizure of California. In April of 1998 over 2,000 high school students from 15 Bay Area high schools met in Concord, California to protest the miserable conditions in their schools, as well as the statewide attacks on immigrant rights, affirmative action, and bilingual education (Martínez, June 1980).

Hunger strikes have been another weapon that Chicana/o students have utilized. In 1993, the University of California at Los Angeles capitulated to demands for Chicano Studies after a 14-day hunger strike by students and faculty. Similarly, a hunger strike by Chicanos at St.

Cloud State University in St. Cloud, Minnesota, galvanized the establishment of a Chicano Studies component in their Minority Studies Program. University students have also mounted demonstrations to protest proposed cuts in affirmative action. For instance, students at the various UC campuses have staged demonstrations concerning the issue of affirmative action. In early March of this year some 300 Latino and ethnically-mixed students demonstrated at UC San Diego where 18 were arrested. Among those arrested were seven Mechistas, including their chairperson.

In other political arenas, students have been active. In August of 1996 MEChA students from throughout the state organized La Marcha-a march from Sacramento to San Diego to protest government policies at the Republican convention.[11] In San Diego they mobilized a group of two thousand protestors in a march from Chicano Park in Logan Heights to the downtown convention site. Additionally, SDSU Mechistas have been active in the UFW's strawberry campaign.

Another example of Chicano student politics is the bi-annual MEChA statewide conferences and their call, "Taking Back Chicano Studies." This call reflects their attempt to adhere to the principles of the Chicano Movement as reflected in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*- principles that loosely guide their current activism.[12]

A Chicano Movement Chicano Studies

Contreras (1995b) argues that Chicano Studies, as reflected in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, was a political strategy. It "aimed directly at the internalized consciousness of accommodation to social relations of racial-cultural inequality that stood as the obstacle to the Chicano Movement's struggle for material forms of social justice and equality" (1995b: 10). He asserts that it is a self-consciously anti-colonialist Chicano Movement ideology that is a necessary element in the construction of the social identity and the political movement that generates the power to institutionalize Chicano Studies.[13] He calls for the return to a Chicano Movement Chicano Studies.

Contreras (1995a) maintains that most of the current resurgent Chicano activism among students is based on this ideology. While students do not explicitly exhibit an understanding of the intellectual role of such writers as Romano, Rocco and Muñoz in the construction of the ideology that supports their activism, they acknowledge, symbolically, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* "as a representation of their political quest" (Contreras 1995a: 34).

Student struggles for Chicano Studies at such places as UCLA and St. Cloud State, their defense of affirmative action at UC Irvine and UC San

Diego, and the high school blowouts defending immigrant rights, affirmative action and bilingual education reflect the struggle against an external threat to the Chicano community. However, the sentiment, "Taking Back Chicano Studies," reflects internal problems concerning Chicano Politics and Chicano Studies. Contreras raises a critical question: What must the role of Chicano staff and faculty be within an ideologically conscious, anti-colonialist Chicano Movement Chicano Studies program and its ancillary programs such as outreach, retention and educational opportunity?

For Contreras, the task of Chicano Studies, as an ideological challenge to the traditional Social Science of the dominant, Eurocentric culture of the United States is to provide a self-conscious, anti-colonialist ideology of the Chicano Movement. Additionally, its task is to continue the process of the recovery of an authentic history of the Mexican community in the United States. The foundation for this position rests in the early Chicano writers, noted above, who challenged Western Thought's claim to an unbiased, culturally neutral, thus non-ideological social science. They challenged the finding that the Mexican community had been ahistorical and apolitical, failing to contribute to the building of the West. Contreras argues that:

> [a] central ideological component of the dominant conception of Social Science, in opposition to which Chicano Studies historically emerged, was (and is) its own social identification, its own social identity, as a 'non-ideology' based in allegedly universalistic academic values and traditions of the European Enlightenment. (1995b: 1)

In light of such view, Contreras calls for a re-evaluation of the role of Chicano scholars. He utilizes two models to advance his contention: Antonio Gramsci's[14] (1971) concept of the "organic" intellectual and Frantz Fanons's [15] (1963) concept of the "colonial intellectual/artist." Gramsci maintains that subordinate groups create organic intellectuals from among their ranks capable of challenging the existing order. Fanon contends in a parallel fashion that the role of the colonial intellectual/artist is to generate an alternative to the dominant social consciousness among the colonized. This alternative would promote recovery of the history that affirms the culture of the colonized and legitimates its existence and right to a future. Contreras concludes that the work of the Chicano intellectual/artist–the Chicano organic intellectual–is the production of a social consciousness, a community's knowledge of historical experience, and an affirmation of self-identity: "It was this anti-colonialist perspective of history, applicable to the Chicano historical experience through internal colonial theory, that permeated the [early] political movement for Chicano Studies" (1995b: 9). The strategic role of Chicano Studies, according to Contreras, is to generate a social consciousness of cultural solidarity and community. Its role is to promote a self-determined Chicano cultural identity, that conditions the

social struggle to realize the political aims of the Chicano Movement; and most importantly, to generate an organized social base through which this cultural identity is expressed (1995b: 10).

Thus, the role of the Chicano intellectual is to challenge the distortions of an institutionalized colonialist history both within the university and outside of the university. His/her task is to join with students in the examination and exposure of dominant-subordinate conditions and asymmetrical relations of power[16] that constitute our existence. Ultimately the Chicano intellectual–argues Contreras–must provide leadership in replacing the existing assimilationist paradigm with a Chicano paradigm capable of promoting "a social consciousness of cultural solidarity and sense of community, that is the necessary condition for any meaningful political struggle against colonialism" (9).

Conclusion

The question remains: What legitimates or authenticates Chicano Studies? For David Hayes-Bautista and Gregory Rodríguez (1994) the Chicano Movement is dead or near dead. They maintain that the Chicano Movement was a generational response to a cultural, social, and political alienation that Latinos felt in the 1960s. They assert that the ideological inflexibility of the Chicano Movement doomed it to obsolescence and that a new Latino, defined by hope rather than anger, has arisen in the death throes of the Chicano Movement. This new Latino–claim Hayes-Bautista and Rodríguez–is "more concerned with renewing a society in decline than in preserving a minority movement" (1994). Theirs is an assimilationist position that would welcome the demise of Chicano Studies to nothing more than an interesting area of research. In contrast, Adela de la Torre takes another position. She counter-poses ethnic and racial authenticity with scholarly accomplishment: the maintenance of isolation, cultural nationalism *vs.* diversity of opinion, diversity of scholars and academic rigor. She argues, "If ethnic studies is to achieve credibility in academia as well as in society, leaders must shift away from the rhetoric of the 1960s to the substantive merit of scholarship" (de la Torre 1996).

While the above positions touch upon critical elements in the Chicano Movement and Chicano Studies, both miss the essence of what Chicano politics means: they omit the nature of Chicano politics. While the Chicano Movement may indeed be on the wane, this does not negate the fact that our communities continue to exist under attack. And though empty rhetoric may at times accompany Chicano politics, it is the political, economic and social condition of the Chicano community that ultimately must be addressed.

Ignacio M. García (1997b) would be critical of both views. He maintains

that the current problems within Chicana/o Studies are related to four factors: 1) the decline of student activism, 2) the entry into the ranks of Chicano faculty scholars who have no ideological connection with the original premises of Chicano Studies, 3) the absence from positions of leadership of older, tenured scholars, and 4) a sectarianism rooted in feminist, neo-Marxist and radical nationalist positions. With this analysis, García presents a third option. He advocates regional Chicano centers along the NACCS Foco model and an eventual return to the premises of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*. This option would feature the development of strong, autonomous departments able to compete for resources with other departments and able to attract large numbers of students in order to establish a stable base of viable faculties. This would allow Chicano scholars to reach out to the community.[17] "That was," he notes, "in essence, the reason Chicano Studies was founded" (182).

While García's critique of the conditions within Chicano Studies has merit and he heads in a positive direction, the essence of the problem is missed. Reflection upon the fundamental issue at hand, that is, the disjunction between the student's views of Chicano politics and that of the faculty, illuminates internal contradictions concerning the legitimacy or authenticity of Chicano organization. What legitimates Chicano Studies? What is its essence? Two contending views of Chicano Studies emerge.

Two Views of the Nature of Chicano Politics

Is Chicana/o Studies relying on traditional social science for its legitimacy? Is it academic "certification" that Chicana/o Studies seeks? Or is it in a process of revealing the contradictions and inconsistencies of traditional social science in terms of communities of color that Chicana/o Studies authenticates itself and becomes legitimate in its own right? Does "Legitimate Social Science," the Western view of the world, provide us with our *raison d'être* or do we draw our inspiration and our political strength from the practical application of the principles of the Chicana/o Movement–principles diametrically opposed to the methodology of Western Social Science? I would argue that it is in the struggle for Chicano identity and in the struggle for justice and equality for Chicano, Latino, and all other communities that we find our authenticity.

Contreras (1995) elaborates the three key principles of Chicano Studies projected in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*. First, Chicano Studies serves the theoretical needs of the Chicano Movement, mobilizing university resources to generate knowledge and research that will develop Chicano Movement political views, strategies, and tactics: "Chicano Studies would be an institution for analyzing conditions, identifying issues, and setting priorities for developing Chicano Movement actions aimed at, in the terminology of

El Plan de Santa Bárbara, "changing our community's structural relation to gabacho society" (78). Second, Chicano Studies transmits human and material resources from the University to the Chicano community: "Through Chicano Studies, practical activity in the Chicano community was to be made a part of the work and life of the students, faculty, staff, and administrators of the Chicano 'university community'" (11). And third, in order to generate Chicano cultural identity, Chicano Studies is responsible for promoting Chicano student self-consciousness, that is, a Chicanismo among students: "The idea was that Chicano Studies would be organized to systematically nurture a consciousness and an enthusiasm among Chicano students to use their education in the service of the community's struggle for justice and equality" (11).

The above three principles are the things that Chicano students are referring to when they raise the call, "Taking Back Chicano Studies." And they are what is the root cause of the disjunction between departmental and student perceptions of Chicano politics. It is *this disjunction* that the students seek to resolve. Their perceptions are that Chicano faculty are not responding to the three principles.

Chicano students are frustrated and isolated–isolated from a faculty that should be providing intellectual support as mentors, a faculty that should be challenging them theoretically and ideologically, a faculty that should be working in solidarity with them on the political front. Seeing an initial dynamic link with faculty lost, the students are attempting to re-instill the essence of the Chicano Movement into current Chicano Studies departments and Chicano faculty. It is, precisely, a Chicano Movement Chicano Studies that they pursue.

The essence of this Chicano Studies is twofold. In the first place, Chicano faculty must re-commit themselves to the work of the "activist-scholar"–the Gramscian "organic intellectual," or more specifically Fanon's "colonized intellectual/artist." That is, it is the responsibility of Chicano faculty and staff to help develop a self-conscious Chicano politics. Secondly, the politics of Chicano Studies and NACCS must be an ideological strategy for challenging popular and scientific views of reality and recovering an authentic history of the Mexican community in the Southwest United States and also elsewhere, like the Midwest, the Pacific Northwest, and the East Coast. It must be about the foundation of a Chicano paradigm: self-conscious, anti-colonialist, and self-determined.

Notes

1. A version of this paper was presented as one of the keynote presentations at the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies XXIII Annual Conference, March 20-23, 1996, Chicago, IL.
2. Ronald Takaki, challenging Connerly's views, invited him to read his book. Takaki noted,

"Ethnic studies has an intellectual purpose . . . [which] is to reach toward a more accurate, more inclusive understanding of American society and its racial and ethnic diversity" (Locke 1998b).

3. In January of 1998 mandatory overtime pay for non-union workers working over eight hours a day was repealed. California workers had been guaranteed time-and-a-half pay for hours worked beyond the 8-hour day. This action affected eight million workers. It was ordered by the state Industrial Welfare Commission, whose members were appointed by former Governor Pete Wilson (REGION UPDATE).
4. I will utilize the term *Chicana/o* in all appropriate uses of the term. I will use *Chicano* in those instances when an original title uses that term or when referring to the initial organization of the Chicano Movement for historical clarity.
5. *El Plan de Santa Bárbara,* published in Fall of 1969, was the proceedings and findings of a conference of Chicano university and college students, faculty and staff held the preceding spring semester at the University of California at Santa Bárbara. The conference produced a number of critical components of the Chicano Movement. First of all, it laid out a master plan for Chicano education for the state of California. It produced a comprehensive plan for setting up Chicano Studies Departments and Centers; it consolidated student organization in California into a single statewide organization–the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA); and illustrated a number of critical principles of the Chicano Movement. The conference also established CCCHE (Chicano Coordinating Committee on Higher Education), a statewide organization of universities and colleges that addressed Chicano policies and politics at post-secondary campuses.
6. It should be noted that community involvement in the Chicano community, by definition, is political. That is, if the Chicano community lives in a subordinated culture conditioned by hostile political and power relations, the work of Chicano intellectuals/ academics in their respective communities–that of transforming the subordinated nature of the culture–demands political activity.
7. Since that time the Mexican American Studies Department (at San Diego State University), often referred to internally as Chicano Studies, was formally changed to the Chicana and Chicano Studies Department.
8. Iris Young (1990) asserts, "The injustice of exploitation consists in social processes that bring about a transfer of energies from one group to another to produce unequal distributions, and in the way in which social institutions enable a few to accumulate while they constrain many more (53). . . . [Consequently], some people exercise their capacities under the control, according to the purposes, and for the benefit of other people" (49).
9. The Santa Bárbara Conference not only produced *El Plan de Santa Bárbara,* Chicano Studies and MEChA, but it also instituted the Chicano Coordinating Committee on Higher Education (CCCHE) which held monthly meetings at a different campus each month. It was instrumental in maintaining on-going contact among Chicanos of the UC and CSU systems –along with Community Colleges. Contrary to popular reports, CCCHE did not exist prior to the conference, therefore was not the planning body of the conference.
10. Robert Blauner in (1969, 1972) also elaborated the concept of internal colony.
11. But it is not only students that have mobilized to oppose these attacks. In San Diego, Unión del Barrio, a community organization, mounted its own protest at the Republican Convention; as in other California communities, in San Diego loose multicultural and inter-organizational coalitions have been battling these attacks. San Diego Chicanos organized a National Latino Summit in San Diego during this time in order to plan a future convention that would present strategies to counter this conservative movement.
12. Elizabeth Martínez (1994) notes that student activists involved in current activism cite *El Plan de Santa Bárbara.* Raoul Contreras (1995b) also argues that the UCLA hunger

strikers relied on the *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* as basis of their demands. Chicano student activists at St. Cloud State University in St. Cloud, Minnesota, as well as Mechistas at San Diego State University in San Diego, California, cite *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* in their work.

13. Contreras views about the political nature of Chicano Studies are perhaps best represented in the following statement: Chicano Studies was a Chicano Movement political strategy based in a recognition that the social consciousness of accommodation to social relations of racial/cultural inequality manifested an internal ideological division within the Chicano community–a division that blocks the unity needed for effective anti-colonialist political struggle. It is a strategy that recognizes this internal ideological division as a systematically imposed 'external' one, that that is fundamental to maintaining and reproducing the Chicano community's subordinate place in the social relations of racial/cultural inequality (1995b: 10).
14. See: Antonio Gramsci 's *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (1971).
15. See: Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963).
16. For a development of "asymmetrical relations of power," see: Antonia Darder (1991).
17. It should be noted that initially the California State University (CSU) system successfully promoted the departmental system establishing departments in most of the CSU campus. Over time there has been some erosion but stable departments continue at places such as CSU Northridge, San Diego State University, CSU Long Beach, and so on. San José State offers a Master's Degree in Chicano Studies.

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A Briefing for a Descent Into Hell[1]

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Muy estimado público, primero quiero darles las gracias por haber venido de todos los rumbos a este congreso. My sincere gratitude to the 1996 Conference Site Committee, to all those who have worked to put this conference together. And thank you René Núñez for your words of wisdom and inspiration.

As I worked on my presentation many things happened but nothing much changed. Each day brings new feelings. One day I am buoyant, full of hope and optimism; the next day I am filled with despair. The next day there is a new assault on my sensibilities, on my beliefs, on my being. Yesterday morning, three new events assaulted me: the news that the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, in a 3-0 ruling, said that the University of Texas Law School may not use race as a factor when admitting students for the sake of adding diversity to the campus; an article about a 27 year-old Sacramento woman, immigrant from Nicaragua, mother of five children, married to a United States (US) citizen, who will be deported; and finally, the news that University of California Regent Ward Connerly was denouncing Angela Davis because she was outspoken in her opposition to the so-called California Civil Rights Initiative. Thus, I must go back to my original title, "A Briefing for Our Descent Into Hell."

But first, I offer you a poem written by humbly me:

UN PASO PA'DELANTE, DOS PASOS PARA'TRAS
ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

I.
Silencio, silencio, no sean ruidosos;
Silence, silence, hush your sweet soft voices, my children,
¿Por qué amá? Pos, ¿es que ai viene La Llorona?
But why, Mama, why? Is the Llorona coming with the rain?

Silencio, silencio, no sean ruidosos;
Silence, silence, hush your sweet soft voices, my children,
Oye, amá, alguien toca tan recio en la puerta;
Listen, Mama, we hear someone knocking loudly at the door;

Silencio, silencio, no sean ruidosos;
Silence, silence, hush your sweet soft voices, my children;
¿Onde está apá? ¿El echa a correr a La Llorona?
Mama, where is Papa? Is he chasing away the Llorona?

Silencio, silencio, no sean ruidosos;
Silence, silence, hush your sweet soft voices, my children;
¡Amá, amá! A apá se lo lleva La Llorona vestida de soldado,
Mama, a deathly looking soldier-woman is dragging Papa away.
No, no my children, it's the Border Patrol;
and now they return for me.
No, no mijitos, es la migra . . . y ahora vienen por mí.

II.
Amá, apá, quiero ir al colegio, me gusta estudiar
Mama, mama, I want to go to college, I love learning;
No, no, no se puede hija mía; no hay dinero, no se puede pasar allí;
No, no, my child, there is no money to enter there;
¿Por qué no . . . amá . . . apá? Estudio mucho, no ando de callejera,
ni de coqueta. ¿Por qué no?
Why not, Mama, Papa? I study hard, I don't roam the streets;
I'm not a coquette, why can't I go?
No, no mijita, no se puede, no hay campo en la universidad;
ya cerraron algunas escuelas, ya se hicieron cárceles;
hay mucho campo en la cárcel;
No, my child, this can not be, there is no space in the University;
Colleges are closing . . . turning into prisons;
there is plenty of space in prison.

Pero yo no quiero estar encerrada,
hay muchas escaleras en la prisión
hay muchos candados en la prisión.
las noches son muy largas y solas en la prisión.
I don't want to be imprisoned;
There are too many ladders in prisons,
there are too many locks behind those prison walls;
the nights are long and lonely behind the wall;

Me vuelvo loca, le tengo miedo a la oscuridad.
I would go mad; I fear the darkness.
¿Amá, apá, ya se apaga la luz?
Mama, Papa, is the light going out?
The light ..., I no longer see the light;
This darkness drives me mad,
it weighs heavy on my heart.
La luz, la luz, no veo la luz, me vuelvo loca . . .
Me pesa tanto el corazón.

And there is no light.

Still, the motto of the University of California is: LET THERE BE LIGHT! We are spiraling into darkness, the darkest times for la raza since the mass deportations of the 1930s, the worst for higher education since the 1950s battle over loyalty oaths. I feel mortally wounded by the passage of Proposition 187 last November 1995 and by the July 20, 1995 vote of the University of California Board of Regents eliminating the use of race, national origin and/or gender as one of the several criteria used for admissions, hiring, and contracts. It feels as if all my work, all of our work of the past 30 years is under attack. We, those of us who work to improve the quality of life from the perspective of one specific ethnic-racial group, or even from the perspective of a people of color, are being repudiated. I feel erased. My soul is imprisoned in this dark tunnel!

If the truth shall set me free, then all around me must be lies: what the Regents say, what many educational leaders say, what the media reports say, what many elected officials say. It is a lie when they say that affirmative action is preferential treatment, that it discriminates against white men. It feels like a lie when they say that ending affirmative action is the means to end racial and gender discrimination. It is a lie when they decide that people, whose only crime is to risk life and limb to provide a better life for their families, are not entitled to basic amenities. They lie, those who say that race is no longer a significant fact of life in the USA. It is a lie when we hear that racism, sexism, and homophobia affect everyone equally. All lies!

These lies are a cover-up, a cover-up for the new American Experiment. These past 500 years of colonization and of a struggle within the Americas has been about indigenous people deciding whether or not we would let the new immigrants stay and thrive in these lands. These next few years will be about whether or not these usurpers will let us, indigenous people, continue to stay and thrive in the Americas. I know I am not in California whose population just passed Proposition 187, but today the US Congress is debating passage of immigration legislation that will include requirements that new immigrants must know English before they arrive in the United States, and that will restrict access to public education for undocumented workers and their children. The Anglo-American hatred for us, children of Mexicanos, Centroamericanos, and Sudamericanos is deeper than I thought. It is racist and xenophobic. It is a hatred directed at our reproduction, at our children. The society wants our production but not our reproduction. This hatred produces these genocidal policies.

The messages to la raza, Chicanas, Chicanos, Latinas, and Latinos alike, is that we must harvest the food, prepare the food, serve the food, and wash the dishes. We must build the houses, clean the houses, clean the yards, clean the streets; but we cannot sit down and eat at the same table. This is what racism, sexism, and xenophobia is all about: we can do

the work of the society, but we cannot share the goodies of the society.

Commentators such as Dinesh D'Sousa, Linda Chávez, and Shelby Steele denounce affirmative action because they do not believe it solves the problem of racism or sexism. They are willing to keep our peoples imprisoned in lies because they do not see the connections between tolerance and acceptance of racism and sexism and not finding solutions. They do not see that we have learned to tolerate racism, sexism, and homophobia. No, tolerance is not a virtue nor a strategy. What solutions do they offer in place of affirmative action? None. If they are not part of the solution, then they are part of the problem. Affirmative action is after all, important because it was seen as a solution, a means of helping all of us know each other in higher education and in the workplace as equals at all levels of expertise, not just in hierarchical relations.

We, the self-proclaimed scholars of Chicana/o Studies must not be a part of the problem. We must be leaders in finding solutions. We must light the way out of this dark tunnel. We must be guiding lights out of the darkness. We must set our people free, free from this darkness into which we have spiraled!

But in order to help resolve issues, Chicana/o Studies must articulate a counter-hegemonic discourse, a discourse accurate as well as stimulating, intellectually and ethically superior to prevailing discourses. And our discourse must be understandable and meaningful to all of our distinct communities. And we must take that knowledge and discourse back to our communities. We must educate our communities. We cannot allow these battles to be lost because of ignorance.

These are, of course, the external attacks directed at our communities. We must certainly also deal with problems and challenges within Chicana/o Studies. These attacks, along with new realities, experiences and changes in the objective conditions of our communities, have created new tensions within Chicana/o Studies, including: stronger identification with national origins among the various groups constituting our communities; inflexibility of the theories and terms/language adequate to dealing with the new realities; a sense and appropriation of the other; and bipolarities in a world of gradations.

To deal with the external attacks and the internal tensions, we must chart new directions within Chicana/o Studies. We must define our own discipline; we must take possession of our theories and ideologies; we must integrate the object and the subject; we must listen to the voices of our youth as well as to the voices of our elders; and above all, we must listen to the voices of our youth as they chant their own call for power. We must work on erasing boundaries–boundaries between men and women, homosexuals and heterosexuals, Latinas/os and Chicanas/os, young and old, our brothers and sisters of color in the struggle. We must strengthen

our connection with the community; Chicana/o Studies scholars, be they students or faculty, must be the organic link between the intellectual world and the community; we must not allow ourselves to be separated from our communities. We must maintain the intellectual tradition of the scholar-activist personified by Ricardo Flores Magón, Sara Estela Ramírez, Jovita González, Ernesto Galarza, Bert Corona, and Julian Zamora, and all the people who have been honored as NACCS Scholars.

These areas in need of reformulating in Chicana/o Studies are an imperative as we move to our next step in the development of our inter/discipline, the articulation and implementation of strategies. Strategies to combat racist/sexist/homophobic attacks should be emerging from within Chicano/o Studies, not exclusively from there, but certainly profusely. The tasks before us are obvious. We must reverse the July 20, 1995 of the UC Board of Regents because the University of California is a place where Chicana/o Studies must gain intellectual leadership. We must defeat the California Civil Rights Initiative. We must not allow the implementation of Proposition 187, the Save Our State Initiative; we must resist all other anti-immigrant legislation. We must resist the building of new prisons; we must rescue our children from the mean streets, from prison, from death; we must end abuse and violence against our *mujeres*; we must rescue and rebuild our public education system; and finally we must find our common ground and articulate our vision of our future. In the process of attacking these problems, we must not allow ourselves to become sacrificial lambs on the altar of affirmative action. Affirmative action has never moved us far enough nor fast enough. We have other very urgent work to do.

We must give new meaning, real form and implementation to our chant: no justice, no peace! It is imperative that we support the pro-affirmative action forces, be they hunger strikes, protest marches, or other actions. This human sacrifice must end. Each of our Chicana/o Studies programs must issue statements clearly stating our position on all of these important issues. Stanford University's President Casper defined affirmative action as the process of "keeping open an avenue whereby the deserving and exceptional may rise through their own efforts". We should be able to say something at least as positive. Our college campuses should lead society to justice and to do good works.

Let me conclude by proposing some general strategies and some specific strategies for NACCS. All of us can start by educating ourselves and our communities on the issues; find out who is doing what, deconstruct and reconstruct. We can all inform ourselves on the actions taking place. I urge you to step over the line; cross that border; decolonize your minds. *No tengamos miedo.* Let us be willing to commit not so civil acts of disobedience. As René Núñez has already reminded us–organize. And listen, LISTEN to the voices of our youth.

And what can you, as NACCSistas do? You can write letters to the University of California Board of Regents, to Regent Connerly, reminding them of their obligation to the people who support the University. Write to the lawyers in the court cases giving them better arguments than those they seem to use. Let your bodies be seen in rallies, marches, protests. And talk, talk to the media, the radio, the television, the newspaper, for there is too much of a one sided vision in the mass media today. NACCS members should demand legislative hearings in their respective states. Finally, we need to issue our own Chicana/o Studies agenda for the next century, for where we want to be by the time of the NACCS thirty year anniversary.

Although we are in a deep darkness now, there is light at the end of the tunnel. We will find our way out of this darkness, and when we do, we will make this world a better place. This is our briefing for your descent into hell. Now let us go out into the world and do good works. Let us make NACCS work for our people.

Notes

1. Title has been borrowed from a Doris Lessing novel. This text is the Keynote Address delivered at the 1996 National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies Conference, Chicago, Illinois.

II

The National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies 1996 Scholar Award— Professor Yolanda Broyles-González

Engendering Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple Oppressions

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My words are dedicated to three sets of women. One set consists of important elders in my life: mi abuelita Polita Rodríguez; Guadalupe Castillo, Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, Pilula Khus, and Antonia Castañeda. I dedicate these words equally to women warriors Guadalupe Compean Acuña, Millie Escobedo, and Sylvia Argueta. And these words also include *con todo cariño a las niñas* Angela Acuña, Esmeralda Broyles-González, Gabriela Alexis Garza-Vázquez and the seven generations yet to come.

I want to thank the Chicana Caucus and the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS) for the very special honor of addressing this Chicana Plenary. This plenary entitled "Engendering Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple Oppressions" is in some ways an outgrowth of a panel at last year's NACS[1] entitled "Gender, Power, and Institutional Backlash: Chicana Stories from the War Zone." And it is an outgrowth of the daily multiple oppressions faced by Chicanas of all economic walks of life . . . And of our responses and challenges to oppression.

Yet this Chicana Plenary theme also is responding to the overall conference theme which significantly mentions only racist and not sexist and homophobic policies. How will NACCS help remedy the multiple oppressions we face: oppressions of race certainly, but also of gender, class, sexuality, and environmental degradation? And why are we–as women entering a new millennium–having to smuggle ourselves back into the NACCS picture? I am referring to the fact of gender oppression being

subsumed under "Racist Policies" in this year's conference theme. What happened to gender? As we know, fighting racism does not necessarily mean a betterment for women of color. The ratio of Chicanas to Chicanos on most campuses–and a comparison of their disparate wages–should tell us something. Mapping Strategies within NACCS must necessarily involve an engagement with our multiple oppressions.

Today I want to explore the mapping of strategies against oppression through the vehicle of personal testimonio. In other words, I want to talk strategy not in the abstract but in terms of what I have learned from my own experience, particularly that of the last ten years as a tenured professor at a research university. In doing so I selectively organize this presentation around three interlocking areas or focal points: (1) the gender lessons of the successful civil rights litigation against the University of California (UC) by Professor Rudy Acuña; (2) suggestions for increased NACCS political advocacy; and (3) reflections on power, struggle, and crossing the fear threshold.

The Gender Lessons of the Acuña Civil Rights Litigation

In 1992 Chicano/a studies Professor Rudy Acuña succeeded in filing the first employment discrimination lawsuit by a Chicano against the University of California. By the time he won in Federal Court four years later, the UC had spent almost five million taxpayer dollars in unsuccessfully defending its discriminatory hiring and promotion practices. It is important to point out that this employment discrimination lawsuit against the University of California produced an immense archive of hiring and promotion information and documents formerly withheld from public scrutiny–and even withheld from professors undergoing personnel review. It also produced an archive full of sworn testimony giving insight into the very subjective and political personnel review process at the University of California. Innumerable volumes of confidential documents finally saw the light of day. That litigation has produced the information needed to understand the internal logic of an elitist system; more than providing "information," those documents expose the institutional politics and culture of the University of California which have for generations systematically excluded minorities, but above all Chicanas. In the hundreds of press conferences and rallies pertaining to the litigation, Acuña and his attorneys have always highlighted the less than 1% Chicana faculty presence within the UC. The Chicana faculty presence on the nine campuses of the University of California is currently at about one-half of one percent. On the Santa Bárbara campus that translates into four Chicanas within a permanent faculty pool of over 700 professors.

The landmark Acuña litigation has furthermore laid bare the blueprint

of how discrimination actually works: it has exposed all the dirty tricks and elegant mechanisms of institutionalized discrimination that affect and exclude Chicanos in general, but Chicanas with even greater force. We already officially knew that discrimination was systemic: an official 1992 University of California study from the Office of the President revealed that women and minority professors get lower pay and fewer promotions, even after controlling for experience, field, credentials and employment status.[2] An official UC newsletter (*UC Focus* 1992) further elaborated on that study, stating, "Data drawn from the study also suggested that white men may have been promoted more readily than women and minorities" and that investigators believe "that similar disparities exist at all UC campuses." Also in that newsletter (now former) Berkeley Chancellor Chang Lin Tien took responsibility–a rare and principled position for an administrator, most of whom will deny that any form of discrimination exists. Then Chancellor Tien indicated: "There is sometimes a subconscious difference in treatment that we've got to overcome" (*UC Focus*). On at least two University of California campuses efforts are underway to diminish that "subconscious difference in treatment" known as the gender pay gap and effected through the personnel review process. (Considerable resistance to such efforts is also present.)

But it took an Acuña case to enable us and the larger California taxpaying public to fully understand the discriminatory dynamics of the academic personnel review process, including all the backchannel communications; the ways a general (political, gender, race) suspicion towards a person under review overrides important factual evidence in the case; the ways most personnel case reviewers do not even read what is in the personnel file; the ways letters from outside peer reviewers of color are distrusted and their credibility dismissed because other people of color are regarded as mere "cronies." This litigation laid bare the discrimination tactics and strategies which have for generations kept Chicana academics on the outside looking in.[3] For every Chicana who gains entry at a so-called research institution like the University of California, hundreds of others have been turned away through the University of California's elaborate so-called "peer review process" which historically often amounts to little more than a disguised good-old-boy filter network. It was the Acuña litigation that allowed me to most tangibly perceive and understand the institutional power structures, practices, and policies which marginalize and exclude Chicanas to a far greater extent than Chicanos. This litigation has disrobed the institution and many of its players; it has unmasked the faces which publicly spew the liberal rhetoric of diversity and secretly ("confidentially") practice discrimination, while they also undermine the autonomy, growth, and self-determination of the Chicano Studies Department–of course with the assistance of some Chicano Studies faculty.

The Acuña lawsuit brought a new knowledge and foundation to my speculations concerning why in 1985 I had become the first woman of any color to ever be tenured at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Why did it take almost into the 21st century for the University of California system to tenure even a sprinkling of Chicanas/Latinas/indigenous women? The documents and proceedings of the litigation and trial also vastly deepened my understanding of why I became the first–and to this day the only Chicana full professor at that institution.[4] The hiring and promotion committees of the institution have historically consisted only of full-professor white-male professors and thus they privilege eurocentric white male centered research; racial "difference" tends to trigger suspicion, and even hostility. Acuña reviewers, for example, referred to Chicano Studies as "an inchoate discipline."

Let me also elaborate on other valuable lessons learned through my own body. My life in the UCSB Department of Chicano Studies certainly experienced a change after being part of a 1989 NACS panel which exposed the misogyny and gendered hierarchy which dissenting women experience in the Chicano Studies Department at UCSB.[5] Needless to say, my life as a University of California Chicana professor also intensified when I was elected chair by the untenured faculty of the Department of Chicano Studies in 1990–against the palpable opposition of higher ranking male faculty. (Thus I also became the first indigenous woman–to my knowledge–to chair any academic department in the UC system.) In this inversion of power relations I became the first woman chairperson and, like many women who come to occupy positions coveted by males, had to contend with male resentment which remains unabated to this day. As chairperson in 1991 I wrote the departmental letter recommending appointment of Professor Rudy Acuña into the Department of Chicano Studies at UC Santa Barbara. After Acuña was denied appointment by the administration he requested an explanation and–upon being treated rudely by administrators–demanded an apology. Instead of apologizing, the university stonewalled. Acuña's lawsuit was spearheaded by the Center for Constitutional Rights in Washington, D.C. charging race, political and age discrimination. As the Acuña litigation moved through the courts and as I publicly spoke in support of Acuña I began to experience the full display of adverse retaliatory measures reserved for Chicana women who publicly challenge institutions. Noted journalist Elizabeth Martínez wrote one of the most detailed exposés both of the trial and of the retaliation against me.[6] The actions taken by the University against me have included multiple forms of retaliation; denial of due process; demotion from the departmental chairship; direct and indirect threats by UC attorneys; discriminatory wage and advancement inequities; efforts at preemptive silencing and other forms of backlash against me and the Department of Chicano Studies.

Thanks to those oppressions because they have provided me with an invaluable training and power; I have understood and learned to cultivate the incomparable power that comes from refusing to be silenced about institutionalized gender and race discrimination, for example. The handful of Chicanas who have gained entry as faculty are typically not only subject to unusual scrutiny and suspicion but also expected to become "good citizens"; to internalize the elitist values of the institution, and be silent about our differential treatment and about our excluded sisters—not to mention the 90% of raza[7] who will never set foot at a UC campus.[8] Nonetheless we do have a responsibility to publicly speak out about the exclusion of Chicanas. Our speaking truth to institutional power needs to happen not only in plenaries and in research findings but at press conferences, in schools, labor organizations, and community organizations. But whether we speak out or not, we as Chicanas more easily fall into the persona non grata or salvaje or mujer ingrata category. The fall from grace is as rapid as the institutional grab for a convenient scape-goat or whipping-girl. Perceived outsiders make great scapegoat and Chicanas as a group are the most marginal of academic outsiders.

Many valuable lessons can be learned from the Acuña civil rights lawsuit against the University of California. And as much as I admire what Rudy Acuña has withstood in challenging the University of California, I know his struggle would have been much harder had he been born a woman. It is primarily by virtue of my gendered politics that the UCSB administration so unthinkingly violated my civil rights. Yet I am grateful for the gendered oppression which ultimately motivated me to read the Civil Right Act and to file charges of employment discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I urge all Chicanas facing similar circumstances to take these and other steps of self-empowerment.

Keep in mind that challenging the institutionalized structures of oppression will also bring you into collision with other Chicanas and Chicanos who uphold those institutional structures and who are generously rewarded for it. Most university administrations have a management system of reward and punishment by which minorities are divided and conquered. The Good Mexicans who protect the institution and act as its shock absorbers are rewarded while the outspoken Bad Mexicans are punished. At UCSB, for example, the two (remaining) Chicano/a faculty who sided with the administration (behind the back of the Department and its faculty) to stop Acuña's appointment and who then testified in court for the university promptly received directorship posts in the Chicano Studies units. One of them is a Chicana professor who university attorneys publicly thanked (in flyers distributed to all faculty on the campus) for her "devotion to the university" in assisting the attorneys working against Acuña. Before the directorship post, she also magically received a one-

year "management internship" which freed her of any teaching duties. As it were, the internship was awarded in violation of affirmative action policies: there was no call for applicants and no application process. Many women colleagues complained to the administration concerning the flagrant use of favoritism. In court that same Chicana witness could "not remember" if she did or did not receive $30,000 in research monies from the University of California after Acuña publicly announced his intention to file his lawsuit.

Being a Good Mexican is lucrative and being a Bad Mexican is certainly not glamorous. However, active non-cooperation with oppressive structures has a resonance and power that money cannot buy. I will not detail all civil rights violations I have faced, but I do want to proudly point out that my own non-cooperation with structures of inequality currently involves preparation of a lawsuit against the University of California which prominently cites gender discrimination, but also political discrimination and retaliation. Our major cause of action revolves around the issue of the gender pay gap. My attorneys–the team that defended Acuña–is able to show that my pay as a university full professor falls approximately 40% short of that enjoyed by similarly situated males.[9]

NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple Oppressions: a Plan for Public Advocacy

My purpose in telling you all this is strategic: there is nothing to be gained by Chicanas and Chicanos quietly accepting institutional civil-rights violations. When universities engage in unlawful activity it must be exposed and challenged publicly and with all means at our disposal. NACCS is one of those means at our disposal. Yet NACCS urgently needs to expand its roles as a organization so as to heighten its capability of responding to problems faced by raza scholars and the community at large. NACCS must strengthen its structures of organized political response to the multiple challenges and oppressions we currently face. Terms such as "Mapping Strategies" against oppression must develop from a mere conference theme to a more fully implemented plan for publicly visible advocacy. NACCS has certainly been supportive of a progressive agenda. I am also grateful for the expressions of support for me and also for the Acuña litigation. But that support has to grow teeth. Here are some suggestions for discussion:

1. We must work to augment the power of NACCS resolutions The current practice of passing resolutions which are then forgotten is in need of attention. Resolutions which address current struggles need to be made public in more aggressive ways. I am suggesting that all resolutions be published and also delivered as press releases at press conferences organized by the NACCS national and regional leadership and membership. For example, one year ago-1995-the Chicana Plenary unanimously passed

a resolution demanding from the University of California and the California Legislature an investigation into the much-publicized sexual assault charges, investigation, and verdict brought against Professor Mario García at Yale.[10] That resolution was also unanimously passed at the NACCS General Business meeting by the entire organization. Publicly visible advocacy for women would mean the release of that resolution at a press conference in front of the UCSB administration building and in Sacramento. What we witnessed was quite the opposite of publicly visible advocacy for women. Even the Chicana Caucus hushed the matter up by reporting in Noticias de NACCS about "a resolution about a named faculty member." We must profess our faith outside the temple.

Other resolutions, such as those in support of Professor Rudy Acuña's litigation, need to be released through press conferences at relevant sites. These press conferences can be organized by the regional NACCS leadership and general membership. One very positive organizational precedent is the 1995 NACCS filing of an amicus letter against Colorado's anti-gay rights Amendment 2. NACCS also provided $1000 to cover filing fees.

2. NACCS should organize investigative teams to look into specific instances of gender/race/sex/class oppressions at universities. Investigative teams can issue reports and findings through, again, a press conference. This would be another means of assuming an advocacy role and bringing political pressure to bear against the multiple oppressions we face.

3. I recommend that NACCS support and tie itself into the new Foundation to be established from the Acuña lawsuit against the UC. The FOR Chicana/o Studies Foundation will provide economic and legal assistance for Chicana and Chicano faculty who face employment discrimination. Historically, we have been unable to reclaim our civil rights through lawsuits because of the enormous expense and expertise involved in legally challenging these mega-institutions. Our people have historically been filtered out not only in tenure decisions but through the hiring process itself. Rudy Acuña could file and win his lawsuit because a team of lawyers–like attorneys Moisés Vázquez (the lead attorney), Robert Racine, Millie Escobedo, Elliot Grossman or Pat Fukushima–was gradually constituted and developed insight into the UC, because they worked for free, and because community and student organizations across the Southwest held fund-raisers to pay court costs. We should not have to rely on such superhuman efforts. The new Foundation will make the litigation process easier.

I have proposed that as many of us as can afford it contribute $10 per month into the Foundation. We must each subscribe to justice, through activism and economically. I also propose that the Foundation make discrimination lawsuits by women of color its highest priority.

4. I propose that NACCS establish a structure for monitoring and

advocating for the institutionalization of the Chicano Studies discipline; and that it intervene whenever the autonomy of Chicana/o Studies programs are threatened. The NACCS organizational presence must be felt, for example, whenever there is a student hunger strike for Chicana/o Studies; or whenever a Chicano Studies Department is threatened with dismantlement. The UCSB administration's backlash against the Chicano Studies Department after the 1994 UCSB Chicano/Latina Student Hunger Strike paralyzed the Department for two years. The administration took the department into "receivership" status, against the vote of three fourths of the faculty. Thereafter, the administration further violated departmental autonomy by unilaterally appointing as chairperson a professor who testified against Acuña. (We call this the "Witness Protection Program".) That new chairperson quickly "rescinded" the national chair search promised by the administration to the hunger strikers.[11] (In essence he "traded" it for an assistant professor search.) Although a majority of faculty protested both his permanent appointment as chair and his exchange of a full professor chairship search for an assistant professor search, the UCSB administration was quite pleased with the arrangement. These stories illustrate the need for NACCS focos to monitor and intervene within institutional politics which undermine the Chicana/o Studies discipline and its progressive institutionalization. With regard to the Chicana/o Studies Ph.D. degree proposal (about which I constantly receive inquiries), I want to point out that in 1994 the administration promised the UCSB Hunger Strikers to "fast-track" the Ph.D. degree program which the Department put forward during my tenure as chair. The current Department leadership has, however, not taken any steps to act on that pledge to the Hunger Strikers.

Needless to say, increased vigilance and advocacy require a renewed and strengthened activist commitment to NACCS by its membership and leadership. Given the current national state of siege faced by children and youth in particular; by working Chicanas; and by undocumented workers, we cannot afford passivity. The wave of anti-immigrant legislation and propositions coming from California and the nation's capital mark a new wave of oppression for raza and many immigrant peoples. We must make far greater use of existing organizational structures and of our privileged positions to advocate for a progressive agenda, both for the Chicana/o Studies discipline at universities and for raza outside the universities.

Reflections on Power and Crossing the Fear Threshold: Coming into Powers

We all know it is not a pleasant experience to face off with oppressive administrations or departmental colleagues. In fact, as a beginning

assistant professor I never imagined that I would. For a number of years I idealized higher education and universities simply because I grew up in a working-class family aspiring to higher education and I did not know these institutions the way I know them today. Fear of reprisal was certainly also a factor that kept me silent once I started to understand the unequal treatment of raza professors within the system. Fear is a powerful emotion and cannot be simply dismissed. I remember how César Chávez talked about that fear when he taught a Chicano Studies course at UCSB in 1993, the year before he died: the fear of facing up to los patrones; the fear of publicly demanding social changes. We must all learn to overcome that fear; sometimes the struggle we face is with our own spirit first and only then can we challenge oppressive institutions. An internal struggle is necessary in order for us to give up a narrowly defined material self-interest; it is a struggle to take a position against your own fears and live by it. The first victory must be over yourself. Once that is accomplished the external struggle becomes the victory. Learning to survive and even flourish in the course of difficult struggle is a necessary lesson of self-empowerment. Indeed, one can and must learn to struggle in joyous ways which fully preserve and augment our human qualities, i.e. we must struggle out of a sense of love and not out of any anger or bitterness. I could not undertake a lawsuit against the University of California other than as an affirmative act, as an act of love, and as a step toward healing the planet. Our token presence at universities and its crippling effect upon the seven generations must be challenged with our bodies and spirits firmly planted in the power of the four directions. That is the meaning of walking in beauty. I speak here from a deep indigenous conviction that what we do outwardly as human political actors will only be as good or as bad as the spiritual motor driving the politics. My own Native American ancestry (and modern physics) teaches me that the world is a unified field and that we must always be (and act) deeply conscious of the interconnectedness and intrinsic equality of all persons and life forms, of everything. Thus we cannot be satisfied with our own privileged being while inequality, devaluation, and environmental degradation continue to exist.

In our struggles for Chicana individual and collective empowerment we must invoke and summon alternative powers. I am pleased to say that the University's retaliatory actions against me generated an alternative power dynamic and also galvanized for me new coalitions which we will need for the 21st century. The strong support I have received from politicians, from colleagues, from student organizations, from regional and national community-based organizations, professional organizations and civic groups revealed to me the multiple powers that can be brought to bear upon the institution's oppressive and exclusive power machine. There are marvelous ways to turn adversity into strength. Yet the greatest power

must come from our own individual centering and rootedness; from the positive power of service to others and love for others.

At this point I enjoy far more power than I ever did before. Yet it is not the power of holding an administrative post at the university. There are other greater powers from a different source or sources. I am talking about spiritual power which is really inseparable from our political vision. To speak with Gandhi: "I do not believe that the spiritual law works on a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and the political fields."[12] The quality of our political struggles is ultimately in close relationship to the quality of the connection we have to our source, to the powers that animate the universe and manifest themselves in us as amor propio, respeto, and proactive love for the seven generations to come. This is to underscore the very positive, sometimes lonely, yet always self-empowering and affirmative, even mystical, nature of struggle and of fighting the good fight. In the struggle for justice, even if you lose you win, because nothing can be more important than to stand up for human dignity and life in all its forms. Además, por esas luchas llega una a ser quién es. To accept injustice without naming it and opposing it is to negate our human dignity, the struggles of those who went before us, and our birth and life right as women. Our collective survival and that of our children is at stake.

Muchas gracias. All my relations!

A Postscript on the Eve of the New Millennium: 1999

Much has come to pass since I delivered the NACCS Chicana Plenary in 1996. Since that Plenary address the need for Chicana/o advocacy and for crossing the fear threshold vis-à-vis elitist institutions has only grown. Numerous events have very negatively impacted the social climate in California and the nation. Indeed California has been the leader in the backlash against immigrants, women, and peoples of color. White supremacist ideologies have carried the day in the elimination of bilingual education in this state (effective in fall 1998) through Proposition 227.[13] Before that, Proposition 209 ended affirmative action; yet the UC Regents were one step ahead of California and voted to end affirmative action even before the state did. Proposition 187 banned undocumented children from school attendance and undocumented mothers from neo-natal care. That proposition is still tied up in litigation and will probably be decided in the United States Supreme Court. All of these measures (including so called Welfare Reform and the Hopwood decision in Texas) have come as a major attack upon women and peoples of color, opening the flood-gates of formerly

repressed or disguised racist, sexist, homophobic sentiments and actions. Needless to say, all of these trends impact severely upon access to education among broad sectors of women and raza peoples in general. At the University of California raza enrollments have generally declined. In this social climate there are also increased adverse effects upon the hiring and retention of faculty of color.

Almost in tandem with these attacks we witness the denial of tenure for many raza assistant professors. Rather than name the dozen or so that come to mind I want to return to my earlier discussion concerning the need for advocacy and provide an update on some of the gains made through the FOR[14] Chicana/o Studies Foundation established from the damages which the University of California paid Professor Rudy Acuña. As I write, the Foundation has launched the employment discrimination lawsuit for Professor Juana Mora against the California State University system. She was denied even an interview for a deanship post at California State University at Northridge although her qualifications matched and even exceeded those of the finalists selected. After several months of litigation the university extravagantly hired an outside law firm to help them; recently, however, both parties entered into settlement negotiations whose outcome we await. Win or lose, Professor Juana Mora has already won a major victory simply by filing the lawsuit. It is my opinion that these lawsuits shake up institutions; they expose long-standing discriminatory policies and practices; they motivate change. Also important: they send ripples of hope to those experiencing similar injustices.

Another recent victory obtained through the FOR Chicana/o Studies Foundation was the tenure decision reversal of Professor Alfred Arteaga at UC Berkeley. He was denied tenure in the English Department in spite of his strong publication record. After the Foundation spearheaded a lawsuit the UC Berkeley administration reversed the unfavorable tenure decision and offered Professor Arteaga a tenured position in Ethnic Studies.

Finally, I want to report on the very positive outcomes of my own lawsuit which we filed in 1996. Yolanda Broyles-González vs. The Regents of the University of California received national press attention because it was the historical first gender pay gap lawsuit against the University of California. We filed the lawsuit in both federal and state court, focusing much of our attention on the historical pay gap disparities which disproportionately impact women and people of color. The facts were very much in our favor, but in addition to the factual evidence being strong, I benefited enormously from the legal expertise, dedication, and legal genius of attorney Moisés Vázquez who with a team of other attorneys have established themselves as experts in litigation against the University of California. Also working in our favor was a national study on the gender pay gap conducted by The Monthly Forum on Women in Higher Education

(12/95). That study ranked the University of California at Santa Bárbara as the ninth worst offender nationally with regard to gender inequality of professor salaries. The data, gathered by the American Association of University Professors, found a $12,000 yearly salary margin of difference between male and female professors. Similarly, the March/April 1994 issue of the journal Academe reported that men professors earn more than women in 1993-94 at all nine UC campuses. The reported male-female margin of salary difference reported is $8000 among professors.

Although my lawsuit was settled within one year, the publicity it brought to the issue of unequal pay for women was considerable.[15] Thanks to a strong national support committee, I began to receive many invitations to speak on this issue at university campuses as well as before women's and civic groups coast to coast. To this day I continue to lecture on the gender pay gap and actually receive far more invitations than I can fit in my work calendar. I was also asked to speak on the issue on my own campus which has only reluctantly begun to slowly move on this issue in 1998. More could have been accomplished by now if the "Pay Equity Committee" established in 1996 and chaired by the Vice Chancellor for Academic Personnel had in fact met in the two years it "existed." That committee came under attack because many women faculty felt that it was unwise for the fox (the personnel director) to pretend to guard the chickens (women faculty unhappy with the personnel review system).

My lawsuit was settled out of court with terms we consider very favorable. During the settlement I refused to accept a "gag order" which would bar me from speaking about the terms of the agreement. Such gag orders are typically used to suppress bad publicity for the university. The extent of gender discrimination lawsuits at the UC (usually fought at the assistant professor level) was, however, uncovered by a journalist who broke the gag orders of many years under the Freedom of Information Act. He published his investigation entitled "University of California Spends Millions of Tax Dollars on Sex-Bias Cases" in the *San Jose Mercury News* (7/7/96). The most dramatic term of my lawsuit settlement is the permanent court injunction (a court judgment against the University of California and all its agents) to which the university submitted. The injunction mandates that the University cease its gender and race discrimination as well as retaliation. As such the permanent injunction creates a protective space for me against gender, race, and political discrimination. The injunction places UC discriminatory actions within permanent court scrutiny and custody, as well as providing me with instant remedy before the court if that protective order is violated. The permanent injunction is an important and enduring marker in the struggle for women's rights.

Beyond the injunction the university agreed to pay damages, costs, and all my attorneys' fees, a sum which exceeded $100,000. Yet my lawsuit

was never about money. (I am blessed with more than enough money.) My lawsuit was about the dream of equality and freedom. I filed the lawsuit not as an act of anger or revenge, but as an act in harmony with principles of justice, dignity, and respect. I value the dream of equality far more than I value any institutional rewards accorded to those who are silent and/or condone the institutional status quo. That status quo has historically kept the number of Chicana/native women professors within the UC at less than half of 1%. Our recent entry into the University of California as a result of affirmative action has not altered our token status, and the institutional practices and structures of exclusion continue to disproportionately impact women and faculty of color who openly speak out against unfair labor practices and discrimination.

Interest in the issue of the gender pay gap has skyrocketed in the last two years because the Clinton administration has also made this issue a national priority. In the interests of bringing much needed publicity to this issue the White House last summer (1998) held a celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Equal Pay Act. President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton not only invited me to that ceremony but the White House also featured my lawsuit as the contemporary example of the on-going struggle for women's pay equity. (We had sued the University of California under the Equal Pay Act.) In addition to receiving the congratulations of the President I was honored by Vice-President Gore for "struggling for full economic equality for women in the U.S.A." Senator Barbara Boxer indicated before the many members of Congress in attendance: "Professor Broyles-González's 1996 lawsuit against the University of California exposed the fact of unequal payment of women. Her case served as a wake-up call to all women, including those in academia, to fight to receive the pay they are entitled to." The fact of receiving national kudos for challenging "los patrones" is particularly ironic, yet showcasing my lawsuit no doubt also provides encouragement to the millions of women who statistically earn 74 cents for every dollar earned by a man at exactly the same job. In the national arena, the Democratic leadership of the Congress this year introduced new legislation named the Paycheck Fairness Act which (if passed) would provide stronger enforcement to the Equal Pay Act-including sanctions against employers. That bill has been endorsed by the Clinton administration, yet it still faces considerable opposition. Yet I am very pleased to see that Al Gore has put the issue of equal pay for women at the top of his platform in his bid for the presidential nomination.

In closing I want to say that I never imagined I was underpaid until I began to pay close attention and compare my pay–after 15 years in academia–to similarly situated and similarly experienced colleagues. In 1993 I wrote a letter to the UCSB administration documenting how the male Chicano Studies professors had been hired with "off-scale" (augmented

salaries), while all female Chicano Studies Professors had been hired with "on-scale" salaries; we successfully challenged that pattern. Sometimes we simply do not expect inequality. Other times inequality has become so naturalized and internalized that we do not see it when it is in plain view. Similarly, we as academics sometimes keep ourselves at arm's length from the devastating inequality faced by the 35 million people below the official poverty line (currently $16,400 for a family of four) or the 40% of raza children who are nutritionally at risk. Most academics do not visit the schools, the rescue missions, the homeless shelters, the sweat shops. Yet we cannot afford to stay away. So again I affirm that within the NACCS organizational structure we can and must develop stronger forms of advocacy which bridge our professional lives as academics with the reality of all our relations.

* Professor Yolanda Broyles-González received the NACCS Distinguished Scholar Award in 1996 at the XXIII NACCS Annual Conference in Chicago. She also delivered a Chicana Plenary Address entitled "Engendering Strategies: NACCS and the Challenge of Multiple Oppressions." That 1996 Chicana Plenary address is reproduced here, yet augmented with footnotes and a 1999 update.

Notes

1. Note that prior to 1996 the NACCS organization was known as NACS, or the National Association for Chicano Studies.
2. A 1992 University of California study conducted through the Office of the President revealed that women and minorities are paid less and promoted less easily than similarly situated white male professors.
3. A full treatment of those discriminatory dynamics and of the ideological structures which produce discriminatory outcomes is examined in great depth in Rodolfo Acuña's most recent book *Sometimes There Is no Other Side. Chicanos and the Myth of Equality*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
4. As of 1997 there are two Chicana full professors; however, two other UCSB Chicana faculty have now resigned and gone elsewhere.
5. That panel was entitled: "Whose Side Are You on Anyway? Intra-ethnic Gender Relations in Chicano Studies" and created much controversy.
6. See her article: "Brown David vs. White Goliath" in *Z Magazine*, January 1996, reprinted in her recently published book, *De Colores Means All of Us: Latina Views for a Multi-Colored Century*, Cambridge: South End Press, 1998.
7. The term *raza* means "the people" and is used by indigenous peoples (in many different languages) to self-designate. I use it interchangeably with Mexican American/Native American/native/indigenous/mexicana/mexicano.
8. Upon resigning from the UCSB English Department (to join the faculty at Brown University), Professor Josefina Saldaña spoke publicly (in the *Santa Barbara News Press*) concerning institutionalized racism and sexism at UCSB.
9. I want to direct your attention to the advocacy organization WAGE ("We Advocate Gender Equity") established by University of California women "to end gender bias and achieve gender equity in the hiring, retention, promotion and compensation of academic women within the University of California system." I currently serve on its governing board.

The organization provides an important network of support and information for women. For membership information write to: P.O. Box 8244, Berkeley, CA 94707.

10. This was reported in the *Chronicle for Higher Education* on Dec. 9, 1992, vol. XXXIX, number 16 ("Chicano-studies scholar left Yale amid Harassment Charges") but first appeared in the *Yale Daily News* in the headline story "University Investigated Professor for Assault" (11/19/92), as well as in the *Yale Daily News* of 12/4/92, 1/14/93, 1/23/93, and as an editorial ("Shameful Quiet. UCSB Needs to Know of Findings") on 12/9/92. The *Santa Barbara News Press* also reported "UCSB Historian Confirms Yale Sex Charge on 1/20/93, and the UCSB Daily Nexus on 2/10/94 and 12/3/92. At UCSB, Associate Vice-Chancellor Julius Zelmanowitz instructed concerned women faculty to not speak about the matter, while also indicating that UCSB has "contacted Yale about the matter." In a press statement Yale University denied any such communication from UCSB.
11. This "arrangement" was worked out between that faculty member and the administration without any consultation with faculty. The letter written by the new Chicano Studies chair (to the administration) urging the trade-off of a full professor search for an assistant professor search was discovered by the other faculty in the xerox machine. So much for democratic governance!
12. Cit. in Richard Attenborough, *Mahatma Gandhi: The Words of Gandhi* (New York: Newmarket Press, 1992): 75.
13. I do not wish to imply that all those who support the elimination of bilingual education are white supremacists. However, most of the public rhetoric and campaign funding against bilingual education came from that white supremacist camp and ideology.
14. The abbreviation FOR stands for "Friends of Rudy" and honors all those who contributed to his defense fund during the litigation against the UC system.
15. Some of the media coverage for my lawsuit includes: Roberto Rodríguez, "UC Professor Wins Gender Discrimination Lawsuit," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 12 June 1997, p. 7; Frances Lee, "Professor Wins Struggle for Gender Pay Equality," headline article for *UCLA Daily Bruin*, May 14, 1997; Lilian de la Torre-Jiménez, "Demanda por Discriminación de una Catedrática Termina Fuera del Tribunal," *La Opinión*, Los Angeles, May 15, 1997; "NACCS Scholar Honored at the White House. Dr. Yolanda Broyles-González Wins Struggle for Equal Pay," *Noticias de NACCS*, vol. 25, num. 5, Dec. 1998; "UCSB Faculty Member Honored at White House for Her Work on Equal Pay," *UC-AFT Perspective*, v. 11, num. 1, Fall 1998; "University of California Yaqui-Chicana Professor Honored at the White House," *La Voz de Esperanza.*, Newsletter of the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, July/August 1998, p. 20.

III

The National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies 1996 Undergraduate Student Premio

Danza Azteca: Xicana/o Life-Cycle Ritual and Autonomous Culture[1]

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Life-cycle rituals among Chicanas/os are being altered by influences from the tradition of Danza Azteca and these changes demonstrate the growing autonomy of Chicanas/os from the Roman Catholic Church. Relations with the Roman Catholic Church have worked to define Chicano/a culture since the sixteenth century; however, the latter represents a tradition older than the discourse and terminology with which we articulate ideas. Indigenous Mexican culture has journeyed with many carriers from México to Aztlán[2] for thousands of years. The modern manifestation of Mexican culture is played out most often as Mexican Catholicism in its diverse forms, which for 500 years has endangered indigenous cultures in México and Aztlán. Mexican Catholicism is a group of practices that have altered, and been altered by, indigenous cultural practices in which people continually replace and retain various aspects of culture. Resulting from this are patterns of indigenous Mestizaje rather than Catholic syncretism.

I argue that life-cycle rituals and the values inherent within them are better indicators of value-orientation than economically coerced action such as employment rates (see: Wilson 1987) because the obligation to complete such things takes deliberate and planned thought on the part of the participants to make their roles (see: Williams 1990; Abalos 1986 and 1993). Reapplying Duane Champagne's (1993: 235) conceptual framework for analyzing institutional and transsocietal context, microgroup processes, and multidimensional causality I discuss the sociohistoric context of Danza Azteca within Chicano/a communities.

Danza Azteca is growing in Mexicano-Chicano-Indio communities

throughout México and Aztlán and reflects the cultural and spiritual autonomy of Chicanas/os, Mexicanos, and Indios who migrate and inhabit both regions. A culture emerging from this social historical context is increasingly being integrated into the life of Chicanas/os in ways observable in life-cycle rituals.

Community Production of Knowledge

The knowledge of Mexican Americans in *Tejas*[3] is disseminated to the general population primarily through migration to other regions of the Southwest and secondarily through the University of Texas academic system. Migration of Tejanos into other parts of the United States (US) has brought Tejano cultural expression into contact with other regional variants of Mexican origin culture. This has led to increased mestizaje within the communities into which Tejanos have migrated. The University of Texas system, historically, has had a large Mexican origin population of scholars. Due to this, academic influence on the codification and conceptualization of Mexican origin cultural expressions has been disseminated academically, both scholarly and humanistically, by employees and patrons of this institution. Scholars interested in the field of Mexican American studies engage this institution empirically by utilizing the archival sources and subsequent research that has been collected and completed within the University of Texas to produce knowledge about Tejanos as a Mexican origin population.

This is important because through Academe, Tejano culture has become institutionalized in a form that has served to empower Mexican Americans by disseminating knowledge from and about Mexican Americans resulting in the objectification and legitimation of the culture into mainstream US culture. In addition to the Mexican fast food joints and the Tejano Music explosion, Mexican American values enter into the discourse of developing US values in all areas that Academe touches.

This theoretical understanding is based in cultural resistance scholarship that has focused attention on the acculturation process of subaltern cultural attributes into dominant paradigms and dominant cultural expressions. The diachronic acculturation process is recognized in this scholarship to be a simultaneous routine running subaltern acculturation and assimilation alongside, and parallel to, dominant cultural development; both cultures intersecting and diverging, while simultaneously building dependencies of collaboration and relation (see: Abalos 1986 and 1993; León-Portilla 1990; Williams 1990).

I synthesize the idea that endangered cultures maintain constant resistance to change (see: León-Portilla 1990) and the assertion that "all else being equal, a polity is more amenable to consensual change when it

is autonomous from kinship, social solidarity, and religious institutional relations" (Champagne 1993: 234) into the simple concept that communities can, and do, organically override inertia inhibiting cultural change when it is perceived as necessary by key people capable of making the change reality.

Collaboration with hegemonic forces promotes dominant interests and result in two basic reactions from cultural resisters. One reaction is to assimilate and accommodate the intruder; the other is to reject and create socio-cultural forms of expression intended to oppose the imposition. Cultural resistance creates social space for the culture it is protecting by moving away from the hegemonic forces. The dynamic between traditionalist and assimilationist factions has been thoroughly developed in the ethnography of American Indians (see: Champagne 1993; Dozier 1966; Grobsmith 1981; Maestas 1997 and 1999; McFee 1972; León-Portilla 1990; Spicer 1961; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992; Walker, 1985). This self-determination by communities through commanding control of the production of knowledge within them has been documented by scholars of *subaltern*[4] studies such as Edward Said (1993) and Epifanio San Juan, Jr. (1992).

Looking at it in this regard, Tejano culture becomes a transregional cultural phenomena that has informed and reserved space for Mexican American cultural expression throughout the United States. Danza Azteca is a part of this larger culture and has also begun to spread throughout Tejas, especially the Tejano dominated areas of San Antonio, Laredo, Brownsville, and Austin. Although nascent in Texas, these manifestations play a part in the institution of Danza Azteca as it is practiced in Aztlán.

Survival of Endangered Cultures

Indigenous cultural production is a product of cultural evolution by people native to a particular area. Following a paradigm in which cultural evolution is a continual process engaged in by all groups of people in the process of developing their ways of doing things I take exception to evolutionary conceptualizations put forth by adherents to the superiority and inferiority of cultures. An example of this is Dr. James Diego Vigil who informs his interpretation of the development of Chicano/a culture as a process comparable to the human life-cycle: with the Indian beginnings considered child-like and the European-derived adaptations considered adult-like (see: Vigil 1980). This asserts unfounded value judgments on the achievements of Indigenous people, resulting in chauvinistic comparisons between Indian and Spanish societies that ignores pertinent facts.

For example, Spanish animal domestication compared to the

corresponding limitations of Indians in animal husbandry is commonly attributed to Indian underdevelopment of technological adaptations necessary for civilization (see: Eddy 1991). However, evidence of Indian agricultural technology and social engineering which allowed for far larger populations than the Spanish showed capable of maintaining is usually not included in such arguments.[5]

A conceptualization of cultural development which I believe better describes cultural development focuses on taking a Multidimensional Historical Comparative approach to the transformation of institutions within a society (Champagne 1993). Following Duane Champagne, a study which "seeks to explain change in institutional order must ultimately refer to the historical sequences and human actions that account for such events" (Champagne 1993: 235). He asserts that social change must be accompanied by sufficient community-member support in order to be effective. I add the restriction that some pressing need of the community must be perceived as being dealt with through the proposed change, and for the nascent cultural adaptation to survive it must continue to provide a recognizable service to the community. Thus, social transformation of this type must begin with identification of pertinent historical events in conjunction with actions of cultural resistants (resisting agents) working to institute proscribed change. Champagne refers to this as the micro-level group processes that negotiate, reconstruct, and maintain the institutional order. Empirical evidence garnered through participation, observation, and reliable reports can be used to identify these elements.[6]

Evidence concerning Danza Azteca supports this contention, in that dissatisfactions within the Chicano/a community directly created a possible space within the community for a ceremonial and professional dance community of this type. Taking the above approach to cultural development in which all cultures are simultaneously adapting to various pressures; the argument

> that . . . Mexican Americans are not emulating the majority society (or Anglos) . . .[; rather,] . . . [t]he two groups are responding to basic revisions in the social order in different ways (Williams 1990: 7),

also points to examining empirical and observable evidence within the communities as expressions of autonomy within the larger transsocietal context. I argue that this acculturation was voluntarily accepted and consequently did not result in a loss of cultural identity and can be termed bi-culturalism (see author's subsequent arguments).

The question of historical context raises interesting questions about the origin of Chicano/a people. Indigenous influence will necessarily take precedence because habitation of these continents by the ancestors of

Chicanas/os has been continued for at least 20,000 years and the specific culture we are dealing with is Mexican Indian in origin. A consistent hallmark of the locale and people of North and Central America has been migration and mestizaje evidenced by limited corn use among most hunter-gatherer Indians prior to European contact (Katz *et al.* 1974).

People of the regions known as La Gran Chichimeca and the Valley of México are characterized as being corn eaters and growers primarily because it was undoubtedly the most significant aspect of material and spiritual culture that they possessed. This most distinctive attribute differentiates them most from the nomadic hunters. Neither of these types should be viewed as evolutionary destinations.[7] Evidence demonstrates that survival orientation ran along a continuum between agriculture and hunter-gatherer, in which societies oriented themselves toward one or the other according to perceived necessity (Katz *et al.* 1974; Eddy 1991).

Miguel León-Portilla (1990) describes the acculturation of Xolotl's Chichimecatl into Toltecatl society between 1300-1400 *a.d.* as occurring without the loss of cultural identity. As is necessary, acculturation demonstrates a change in the social production of knowledge of a society (Berger and Luckman 1966). The outstanding characteristic of this particular process lay in the fact that despite changes and transformation in Chichimecatl society, the identity of both groups involved endured and rose to social and political prominence. It occurred enough so that this process of acculturation was historicized in the Codex Xolotl and Codexes of Tlotzin, Quinatzin, and Tepechpan.

This social change is outlined in Table 1 below:

Table 1[8]

CHICHIMECATL	TOLTECATL
Nomadic group hunters/gatherers	*Urban dwellers*
Nominal agriculture	Complex agriculture
Simple diet	Complex diet
Animal skin clothing	Cotton clothing
Mobile housing	Permanent dwellings

Two ways this data can be interpreted are: Chichimecatl and Toltecatl societies merged and both ethnicities maintaining their identities or the Chichimecatl dominated the Toltecatl and appropriated their culture. This is very similar to relations between the Mongols and the Chinese, as well as those between the Romans and the Greeks. León-Portilla describes this as the barbarian-civilized complex (1990: 23-54). However, the term civilization retains connotations of moral superiority and does not treat important differences between permanent settlers and nomadic

inhabitants. Conflicts between these groups erected social conventions that diversified into a larger pluralistic society engaging in both high intensity agriculture, large-scale hunting, and zoology.

An example of agriculturalists becoming nomadic hunters and gatherers occurred among many Mississippi Valley Indians who farmed extensively in the fifteenth century. By the seventeenth century, Spanish invasionary forces reported that the Great Plains were dominated by nomadic horse riding hunters and raiders (Gutiérrez 1991). Katz *et al.* (1974) document that the Crow Indians once formed a single people with the agriculturalist Hidatsa until the latter split off from that society to become buffalo hunters. The Crow and other societies dominated the Great Plains until the systematic extermination of the Buffalo by Anglo and European immigrants under the protection of the U.S. military (Grobsmith 1981; McFee 1972; Utter 1993; Walker 1985). In this case, acculturation appears to have been a voluntary change originating from within the cultures themselves and their adaptation of the horse into their cultural milieu. This is an ideal situation in which societies are free to determine the shape of their institutions.

In the two above cases of acculturation certain important similarities exist. First, both societies established themselves and were thriving on social, economic, and spiritual successes within three generations, or about 75 years. Second, in their respective acculturations they did not lose their cultural identity in the process of acculturation. Finally, both cultural groups were later dominated and endangered by European interests (see: Grobsmith 1981; León-Portilla 1990; McFee 1972; Walker 1985).

Looking specifically at the Spanish invasion of *Anáhuac,*[9] the concept of bi-cultural identity can be compared with induced acculturation that resulted in endangering the indigenous cultures of México. The culture of domination brought by Hernán Cortés was the product of 600 years of Muslim/Moor/African domination of Spain: "The orthodox experience of Islam may well have helped to develop or reinforce Spanish devotion to masculine heroism, patriarchalism, patron-client dependencies, and the repression of the feminine" (Halpern 1986: xi). Taking this into account, it can be argued that Spanish culture was in its formative stages of self-determination after being subordinate to the Moors for 600 years. The Indian Holocaust and the Spanish Invasion produced a culture clash between the Spanish Imperial Culture and the myriad indigenous Mexican societies (Zamudio-Taylor 1991). From this, the Mestizo indigenous culture adopted life-cycle ritual patterns that include a well-defined extended family system, patron-client dependencies, patriarchalism, a repression of the feminine, and an intricate ceremonial cycle (see: Toor 1947).

Over the last 500 years, the present Indian, Spanish, and Mexican cultures have survived endangerment and make up the shared ethnicity

of México. A discrete line from the indigenous societies who have self-determined their culture in exchange for marginality runs to the slightly Mestizo aristocratic elite. All of these groups continue to adapt to the onslaught of United States hegemony, both within and outside of México. Mexican-origin people living in the US, are culturally and geographically isolated from the center of Mexican cultural centers and are the most subjugated to permanent contact with a more powerful hegemonic entity, which in turn, translate into factors of disintegration (León-Portilla 1990).

In 1976, Miguel León-Portilla (1990) stated that he believed Chicanas/os to be members of an endangered culture. He assumed that Chicanas/os, as Mexican immigrants, were too far from México to maintain their Mexicanness and suggested that they try to assimilate into the Anglo-dominated culture. The evidence I bring forth in this paper will show, to his surprise, Danza Azteca to be a preserving factor of indigenous culture. Moreover, an autonomous tradition preserves cultural knowledge for the express purpose of maintaining an indigenous identity. Oftentimes, these traditions persist in addition to, or even in lieu of language maintenance. Chicano/a culture has adopted elements from both US and Mexican cultures because its historical context exists throughout a geographical region that encompasses both nation-states. This points to a transhistorical interchange between Aztlán and El Valle de México that has survived through to modern times. The ritual and ceremonial knowledge provided through Danza Azteca is redefining Mexican Catholic identity among Chicanas/os (Nexis/Lexis Database 1995).

Mexican Catholicism

Mexican Catholicism is an integral part of Mexican culture and nationalism. Mexican acceptance and subsequent adaptation of Catholic attributes follows the pattern of mestizaje as described by León-Portilla in *Endangered Cultures* (1990). The sixteenth century was a time of *Nepantla* for the Mexican Indians and Mestizos. Nepantla refers to a Nahuatl philosophical concept of endangered cultures "remaining in the middle." It was a time when the ancient institutions had been condemned and mortally wounded, while the one the friars imposed was still strange and at times incomprehensible (León-Portilla 1990: 4,5,12). In the same volume, León-Portilla goes on to show that, by the end of the century, the Catholicism was thoroughly Indian and hardly recognizable by the friars.

It is important to note that in the oral tradition of Los Concheros and Los Apaches (the forerunners of Danza Azteca), 1531 is the date given as the origin of the tradition. Along with the numerous forms of Indian and Mestizo culture developing during this century it was infused with the traumas and techniques of resistance deemed most effective by the

communities of the time that maintained it. Los Concheros retained the knowledge to direct baptisms, marriages, mourning rituals, and collective action to sponsor the fiestas for the communities in which they lived (Stone 1975; Toor 1947). Performing these integrative functions, put indigenous and Mestizo institutions in the unique position of directing the cultural development of the community.

For the majority of Mexican Indians in the seventeenth century, friars were shared among many communities, and regular mass and other many ritual duties were filled by indigenous institutions within each community. A system of this types leaves ample room for Indians and Mestizos who did not have a full grasp of Roman Catholicism to retain ancient traditions. Two historical examples of this process are Los Concheros and Los Penitentes. Evidence from Spanish records shows that of the 16,000 inhabitants reported between 1693 and 1848, a grand total of 68 came from outside of the area and only two came from Spain. At the same time, a slave trade existed among the Pueblos, Nomadic tribes, and Mestizo settlers in which Indian women were regularly raped and impregnated; the sons of whom became hijos de la iglesia (Gutiérrez 1991). All Indians and Mestizos numbered in the thousands and gave rise to the unique New Mexican culture that exists today (Maestas 1997).

As the most distant and isolated area of the Spanish and Mexican states, New Mexico was undoubtedly formed by indigenous community institutions. Evidence demonstrates that the large majority of the inhabitants of New Mexico were from neighboring Indian groups and that, through apartheid-like slavery, they were responsible for the majority of the work that we see showcased as New Mexican culture. Division of labor for the slaves, *Genízaros* and *Criadas*, left them with the preparing of the food and the construction of the edifices. The ristras and architecture that represent New Mexican culture are the historical production of many Indian groups forced to work together in slave labor institutions (Maestas 1997; Vigil 1980).

Social tension both inside and outside of New Mexican society made slavery untenable and the social system segregated people according to racial characteristics. Social stratification began to take on attributes similar to those of Jim Crow and South African Apartheid. Debt peonage increased dramatically during this time and the poor and dark-skinned were sent to guard the perimeters in mostly male garrisons (Hackett 1942). This left the females vulnerable to rape and sexual abuse (Maestas 1997).

Upon this transsocietal context of colonial New Mexico, the Penitentes provided the poor and enslaved with ritual services and social direction. In other words, authority in New Mexico at this time lay in the hands of this brotherhood of penitents. They are described as ordering and directing

community events, both secular and clerical (see: Weigle 1976; New Mexico Oral History 1995).

It seems more likely that Los Penitentes emerged from the social production of the society that existed and the needs it served. Serving a diverse group of racially dominated Mestizos and galvanizing them into viable communities capable of surviving isolation and nomadic raiding, called for a socially appropriate form of dealing with the sacred. The Moradas, centers for penitent and community activities, were closed off in much the same way as Kivas, and the use of Yucca whips is similar to Kiva Rituals. Even social systems designed to regulate irrigation between New Mexican and Pueblo Indian communities are near identical, especially when they use the same source of water (see: van Willigan 1993). Institutions such as these were developed among New Mexican towns and outlying areas by los penitentes during the eighteenth century (Chávez 1977; New Mexico Oral History; Weigle 1976).

Anthony Stevens-Arroyo's (1995) description of the history of Roman Catholicism delegating Latinos to the margins of Catholicism, is supported by the emergence of indigenous institutions to provide services that the church did not. I suspect, based on the Catholic Church's policy to restrict Indians from attaining priesthood (Gutiérrez 1991), that the power structure has been racially discriminatory against Indians and Mestizos. Coupled with the revulsion European Catholic priests have written upon issues such as Los Penitentes and La Virgen de Guadalupe supports this view (Gutiérrez 1991). However, isolation of this type from rigorous Catholic doctrine allowed for more autonomy throughout Latin America, especially in areas where the majority were Indians, Blacks, and Mestizos (Stevens-Arroyo 1995).

Aztlán has comprised areas of cultural isolation and majority populations of Indians, and later Mestizos (Stevens-Arroyo 1995; Vigil 1980) Chicano/a Catholicism is a product of severe isolation from Mexican culture centers and the intensive impact of marginalization to the point of genocide (Acuña 1988).

A bias of sociology on US Catholicism that has resulted in low level understanding of Latino Catholics demonstrates the persistence of the dominant church marginalizing Chicano/a Catholics. For example, the assumption that Chicanas/os were foreign immigrants opposed the historical reality of Latino migrations of the 1950s to urban sectors being internal migrations of Mexican origin and Puerto Rican people, both supposedly US citizens (Stevens-Arroyo 1995: 24).

Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo validates his use of the internal colonial model by citing the empirical evidence of urban enterprise or empowerment zones introduced as government-sponsored forms which imitate colonial economic structures taken from the Puerto Rican Commonwealth

Operation Bootstrap (Stevens-Arroyo 1995: 27). Using the internal colonial model as a starting point, it can be seen that US Catholic missionaries approached Chicanas/os in the 1950s and 1960s from an assimilationist perspective. From this, it follows that the existence of discontent among Latino Catholics is due to the political inaction of the US and Roman Catholic Churches and shown in the lack of a theology of liberation. This lack is questionable when we are made aware of the Vatican's support of Liberation Theology in the context of oppressed Polish and Irish Catholics in Poland and Ireland.

Mexican Catholic response to this marginalization is expressed in the greater reliance of Mexican Catholics on communal forms of religious practice usually resulting in indifference to the institutional Church, loyalty to Catholic heritage, lack of attention to contemporary US public culture, and the experience of systematic discrimination. According to Arroyo-Stevens (1995: 34-43), the result of this has been Chicano/a religious resurgence; but, in forms of autonomous religious practices that take on a nationalistic character.

Mexican Catholicism practiced in its diverse manifestations runs the gamut from token Spanish words and melodies within Indian ritual to strict Roman Catholic practices. In this context, Danza Azteca exists as a common set of intelligible rituals practiced in Spanish and English with the intention of maintaining traditional ritual practices and dance steps. Practices related to Danza Azteca are integrated into Mexican Catholicism by communities from Southern México to Canada and are present and exhibited globally.

It can be concluded from the above that Mexican and Chicano/a Catholicism has emerged from the transsocietal context of Latino Catholicism and the Spanish introduction of Catholic acculturation induced through coercive measures which caused trauma to the indigenous cultures. According to León-Portilla (1990), cultures that survive such endangerment integrate experienced traumas into cultural expressions such as dance and song. Effective defensive mechanisms that result in the survival of a culture allow for the emergence of related, but not homogeneous, cultures developing parallel to the dominant one. Being one of these, Danza Azteca also shows continuity with the basic attributes of Mexican indigenous ritual: Copalli-incense, Xochitl-flowers, Kuikatl-song and Velas-candles, for the express purpose of serving and communicating with the ancestors (INAH 1965; Vogt 1969; Stone 1975; Toor 1947).

By 1900, Los Concheros had established a cultural territory covering the present day Mexican states of México, Tlaxcala, Puebla, Morelos, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Zacatecas, and Durango. At the same time, Los Penitentes were being persecuted by the US Government and

the Roman and US Catholic Churches. They were ordered to disband, although they organized the support system and provided ritual services to their communities (Chávez 1974; New Mexico Oral History) Similar to Los Concheros, they maintained self-mutilatory practices, the use of copal, candles, and song (see: Weigle 1976; subsequent author's argument). This empirically places them within the context of Mexican Catholicism, and therefore an indigenous mestizaje (Vogt 1969).

The aforementioned arguments point to the development of an autonomous knowledge produced by an indigenous Mestizo community and pertaining to the production of social integrative functions, that is, life-cycle rituals. Los Penitentes in New Mexico took on the roles of priests in the ritual and ceremony of the area (Gutiérrez 1991). Los Concheros took on a similar role in central and northern México. I propose that Chicanas/os in the US are presently marginalized and not being adequately served by the Catholic Church and that Danza Azteca is providing social integrative functions.

Danza Azteca

Danza Azteca is the result of an endangered culture of the numerous indigenous communities including Nahuatl and Otomi speaking people (Maestas 1997 and 1999; Stone 1975; Fernández 1941) proscribed by the Spanish as an indigenous practice of self-sacrifice in Colonial and Caudillo México, but maintained as a form of indigenous resistance. Self-sacrifice was used to maintain the strict discipline necessary to safeguard the sacred rituals, so as to continue to service the community. Aspects of self-sacrifice include fasting, whipping, sleep deprivation, and dancing for days at a time continue to be a part of Danza Azteca (Aguilar 1986 and 1992; Maestas 1997 and 1999; Stone 1975; Toor 1947; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992).

In México and Aztlán, circles of Indians dancing are referred to as Mitotes by the Mexicanos, which can be traced back to an apparent Mestizaje between Spanish Catholicism and the Mitotiliztli (Aguilar 1986; Siméon 1977; Kurath 1964). Ceremonies of Danza Conchera have been held in numerous languages (Aguilar 1992; Maestas 1997 and 1999; Stone 1975; Vento 1994) and rituals include aspects common to most Mexican Indian cultures: *copal, flores, velas y canciones* (León-Portilla 1990; Vogt 1969; Maestas 1997 and 1999; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992).

According to oral histories that I have compiled between 1994 and 1996 (Maestas 1997), Danza Azteca is a spiritual path that has been developed by Indios throughout central and northern México. It has been a struggle that was brought to Aztlán in the 1960s and 1970s. Danza Conchera, one of the sources of Danza Azteca, came to Aztlán in the mid-

1960s by way of Maestro Andrés Segura, a leader of the dance from Mexico City (INAH 1965; Vento 1994; Maestas 1997). In the mid-1960s he initiated the groups called *Xinachtli*, which translated from Nahuatl signifies seed. Segura initiated a group in San Antonio, Texas and another in San Juan Bautista, California; all of the groups initiated by Maestro Segura go under the same name. Concheros claim inheritance to the cultural legacy and tradition of the Tolteca-Chichimeca nations of México. They maintain their spiritual activities around the Catholic Church in their respective areas and continue to make pilgrimages to participate in various ceremonies outside their region (INAH 1964; Stone 1975; Toor 1947). In México, these such ceremonial corporations have historically performed life-cycle rituals in their communities (Stone 1975; Maestas 1997). I do not know if the Xinachtli groups also do this.

In the early 1970s, Florencio Yescas came to the Tijuana/San Diego area. He brought a number of Danzantes from Mexico City and they danced in cities throughout the United States. Florencio Yescas died in 1985 and some of the Danzantes he brought with him from Mexico City are still dancing in various US cities.

A group of Chicanas/os affiliated with the artistic and cultural group Toltecas en Aztlán and El Centro Cultural de la Raza, both based in San Diego, began to learn Danza Azteca from Maestro Yescas. The type of Danza Azteca that he brought to the United States is referred to as Danza Azteca Conquista, this should not be confused with Danza de la Conquista (Aguilar 1986). Conquista refers to the code of these Danzantes: *Unión, Conformidad y Conquista*, in which Conquista refers to the process of the proliferation of the culture. Many of the traditions of Danza Conquista come from Los Concheros and some of these Danzantes look to Los Concheros for guidance and recognition (Maestas 1997).

According to academe, Danza Azteca is a part of a Mexican Indian cultural institution. Martha Stone (1975) gives a general description that is supported by both community and academic assertions: "At any rate, it seems fairly certain that at some time after the Conquest there was superimposed upon the Pre-conquest dance cult a complicated, well planned substitute with both Christian and pagan elements, excluding human sacrifice" (1975: 201). Important gaps in our knowledge about this culture centers around how long the Pre-conquest dance cult continued before forced acculturation, how effective was its resistance to hegemonic forces, and how strong the Spanish Catholic coercion was to conform. Focusing on pan-Mexican origin life-cycle rituals, empirical evidence of Danza Azteca shows various cultural expressions being transformed in the Latino community through Danzantes developing sacred rites for use in the production of knowledge. The word *substitute* does not seem to be an accurate descriptor in that it denotes replacement by a different

institution or administration. Los Concheros maintained the form and administration of their dance cult, so it seems that a more accurate word would be innovation.

The socially constructed reality of Danza Azteca has been integrated into Chicano/a culture, primarily in California, and subsequently into most Mexican origin populations in the United States (Nexis/Lexis Database 1995; Mead Data Corporation 1995). Danza Azteca is connected to the above mentioned larger culture through familial, social, economic, and political ties. The purpose of this study is to explore the interaction of Danza Azteca in the integrative rituals and ceremonies of Mexican origin people.

The primary purpose of Danza[10] is to recreate a traditional form of ceremony that acts as a focus for a "culture of resistance."[11] Ceremony in this context can be defined as interaction with the community and environment prescribed by the tradition of Danza Azteca as produced by Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os in the US. This includes interaction with the unseen world of beliefs and ritual, in which, I argue, Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os have been marginalized by the Catholic Church. Ceremonies are sponsored and held by Danza communities to provide opportunities for Danzantes and the community to celebrate important events. These can range from indigenous Mexican holidays such as the days to honor Kuauhtémok and La Virgen de Guadalupe to pan-Indian events such as the 1992 Peace and Dignity Journeys (Nexis/Lexis 1992 and 1995). In these ways, Danzantes execute alternate and autonomous ceremony to meet spiritual and social control needs of Chicanas/os and the indigenous communities of Aztlán and México.

It is specifically the code *Unión, Conformidad y Conquista* with its complementary dicipline that has been integrated into Chicano/a communities and addresses the need for significant spiritual participation by Chicanas/os. Danzantes consider these to be positive and practical methods for the social and spiritual development of communities (Aguilar 1986 and 1992; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992; Maestas 1997 and 1999; Stone 1975; Toor 1947).

Autonomous ceremony, mainly including other Danzantes, is recreated on a continual basis through the *ensayo*, which is a ritualized form of rehearsal that prepares the Danzante for participation in ceremony and performance. Rituals, in general, have been described by Mircea Eliade–by way of Joseph Campbell (1988)–as methods used by sacred religious traditions to arrest time by duplicating patterns. Seeking to preserve the past through social and collective memory by recapturing and recreating the activities of their forefathers, Danzantes fulfill, in the expression of their culture, their own needs as Chicanas/os for reincorporation into a powerful and pertinent world view. David Abalos spoke to a similar

sentiment when he wrote that "to live in the service of transformation is to persist in continuous creation of the fundamentally new and more loving by journeying through the core drama again and again" (1993: 38). Abalos speaks to the repetitive enactment of creation and Eliade speaks of recreating patterns. The seeming paradox of simultaneously engaging in both re-creation and maintenance of tradition has proven necessary to the survival of religion in a rapidly changing world. All religious institutions must continually prove themselves pertinent and effective, in providing for their adherents' expected needs, in order to maintain the power structures that provide them with authority (Abalos 1986 and 1993; Stevens-Arroyo 1995).

I argue that indifference of many Chicanas/os to the institutional churches, evidenced by the lack of participation in public practice reported by Abalos and Stevens-Arroyo, is a result of this epistemological factor in the individual Chicano/a's experience and knowledge of the sacred. Alternative, and indigenous experience of ceremony has been extensively explored in the anti-colonial literature of Leslie Marmon Silko (Silko 1977 and 1992). In a religious context a person is forced to rely on an intermediary to negotiate with the sacred; in effect, the person is spiritually marginalized. In interactive forms of ceremony (spirituality), participants are encouraged to personally access the sacred and transmit this knowledge through the expression of dance and song. This forces a transformation based on a reckoning of the trauma that is inherent in these types of expression and a reassessment of strategies for survival (see: author's argument above). So, it becomes logical to cast 1) religion as a state of permanent inequality between the member of the congregation and the intercessor and 2) spirituality as a state of temporary inequality, in which the goal between teacher and student is equity (Miller 1995).

Ensayos are the primary vehicle for transmitting knowledge and producing cultural equity among Danzantes. In Aztlán, ensayos are conducted a number of times each week at which hour Danzantes have the opportunity to engage in the continuous learning on how to interact in a sacred context for the express purpose of meeting their socio-spiritual needs. In addition, participants in Danza are obliged to participate and expand their role in ceremonies throughout the year (Aguilar 1986 and 1992; Maestas 1997 and 1999; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992; Stone 1975; Toor 1947). Oftentimes this involves pilgrimage, especially when travel is made to México. In these ceremonies there is an obligatory honor and respect for the ultimate purpose of maintaining the tradition of Danza Azteca by Chicano/a Danzantes. Within these ceremonies there are baptisms, coming of age ceremonies, marriages, words of departure, and honoring of the dead. Generally, the community is encouraged to participate. This expands the ritual population to the extended families

both within Danza Azteca (Danzantes) and outside (in the immediate and extended families of Danzantes) (Maestas 1997 and 1999; Stone 1975).

The institutionalized manner of expanding the role of Danza Azteca and bringing the experience into new communities is called La Conquista. This action requires an initiated leader and teacher to conquer the hearts of the people in these new communities, so that they are willing to participate with and support Danza Azteca. It is said that the hearts of the onlookers are conquered by the power and spirit evoked by the Danzantes. For most, this translates into open appreciation and awe, which work toward the favor of reserving and preserving a social space for Danza Azteca where it can exist in a given community. A few of the onlookers find their hearts completely conquered and submit themselves to Danza. This second aspect of La Conquista allows for expansion of Danza into the lives of other families and communities. In other words, this is the resistant aspect of the culture that provides a social space in which Danza can exist.

Knowledge of La Conquista is taken from extensive participant observation and compilation of personal statements pertaining to the oral history of Danza Azteca in Aztlán. This is augmented by the explanation of La Conquista given by various leaders from México and Aztlán in the Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center's "Transcripts from the First International Danza Azteca Symposium, April 21-22, 1990."[12] Danzantes have created and reserved a social space for themselves through the traditional process of La Conquista. This social space can be defined as an Indianist force in *Xicana/o*[13] culture. We will explore this aspect by looking at the specific case of Danza Azteca in Denver, Colorado.

As a child, I was socialized by the group of women who developed Danza Azteca into the group Los Danzantes de Coloraztlán in Denver, Colorado. These women were student activists in the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) chapter on the Auraria Campus and thus were exposed to a variety of political, spiritual, and cultural influences. One of these influences was Danza Azteca and the indigenous spirituality that came with it. Various Chicano teachers traveled to Denver with the intent of planting the seeds of Danza Azteca. These women initiates, of whom my mother was one, became the recipients of the Danza tradition. So, between my seventh and twelfth years of life (1976-1982) I spent the majority of my time with an extended family to which these women belonged. I can honestly say that this was one of the most memorable times of my life and is the experience which gives reason to my present position of maintaining the legacy of the tradition. I take my personal integration of Danza Azteca into the life of my family and community to mean that the socialization process of integrating Danza Azteca into my life was successful.

The socialization consisted of periodic gatherings for cultural practices

on holidays that were considered important to the extended family, such as, the Cinco de Mayo, the Día de los Muertos, the 16 de Septiembre, and solstices and equinoxes. In addition, there were weekly social gatherings of the extended family. During these and other times prayers and offerings were practiced in the ways prescribed by the teachers of indigenous ways from various tribes. The most widely adopted were those from the Lakota and the Azteca traditions. Ceremonies of this type were consistently engaged in by members of the extended family and many of the individual families integrated aspects of these traditions into their lives.

It must be stressed that the extended family was made up of Xicanos and Puertorriqueños living in Denver, Colorado who no longer found engaging and meaningful the Latino and Mexican Catholic traditions under which they had been raised. Most of the Xicanos were from Southern Colorado and New Mexican families and the Puertorriqueños had migrated from their families in New York City. Thus, the families to which all of the extended family members belonged had been devout Catholics for at least one century and in some cases more than four centuries.

A profound social change in the spiritual orientation of this community is empirically supported by my observations and two concrete conclusions can be drawn. First, serious dissatisfaction with Catholic values and beliefs, as these people understood them, must have existed; and second, that this particular community responded to their need for an alternative cultural orientation by actively seeking it out. In my family, some of the results were the adoption of the use of sage and copal as incense with which to pray. Another tradition that was altered in my household was the act of making an altar. My mother had learned from her mother the importance of constructing a household altar using Catholic symbols. Her knowledge and acceptance of these ways surfaced by replacing the Catholic objects with indigenous ones. The use of such things as candles and flowers existed on the altar before; however, they became more prominent on our family's altar as we were taught of their indigenous importance.

The perception of Chicano/a and *Borinquen*[14] identity in the extended family was that we were descendants of various Indian societies that existed in Aztlán and *Borinqua*–indigenous term for Puerto Rico–prior to European contact (Klor de Alva 1991).[15] We accepted the common assumption of genetic mestizaje in which the Spaniard father and the Indian mother were at work here and a common matrilineal reckoning of kinship played out in identity expressed by the maxim: "We claim the blood of our mothers" (Montoya 1998). The cultural and ideological implications of this argument strengthened and encouraged the community's resolve to seek out its indigenous roots.

In describing institutional change, Duane Champagne (1993) states: "the mere desire for change does not mean that institutional entrepeneuers

will succeed in gaining adoption of their innovation" (244). He points to "group interactions and sequences of historically contingent events to explain processes of institutional change" (Champagne 1993: 244) The group interactions of solidarity and widespread support translates into manifestations of Danza Azteca in the community in such a way as to allow increased differentiation within the Chicano/a community. Champagne (1993) identifies differentiation as a key factor in the ability of a community to integrate and survive changes and conflicts. A significant example of a historically contingent event was the Chicano Movement in which changing structural or contextual conditions did instigate dissatisfactions and opportunities for the introduction of institutional differentiation within the Chicano community as a whole. The process of acculturation that resulted in Indigenous Mexican people adapting Spanish Catholic folk ways of spirituality to articulate Mexican Catholicism seemed as if it were being reversed. Our modern understandings of Indian elements from various past and present Indian groups was being adapted to formulate a new mestizaje. It was this cultural expression into which I was socialized between 1975 and 1982, and which formed the basis for my initial understanding of Danza Azteca. Regardless of the number of times I travel to México to learn more about the tradition of Danza or delve into texts pertaining to the matter, I will never be able to negate the influence that the above described formative socialization has on my understanding of the subject; additional socializing processes and knowledge accumulation can only build upon the foundation that is there (Berger and Luckman 1966: 129-189).

One of the forms taken by the extended family to seek and develop indigenous knowledge was the adoption of Danza Azteca by Xicanas in the extended family. From the years 1980-1982, these women began to devote their time and energies to developing Danza Azteca. During that time, I participated in numerous lessons and ceremonies realized by them. The dance steps and prescribed rituals came from teachers of the tradition, but the need and execution of the ceremonies and lessons were informed by the values and beliefs of these Xicanas from Denver.

After 1982, Los Danzantes de Coloraztlán became Grupo Tlaloc and began to participate in more sacred culture ceremonies, such as the Día de los Muertos, the Día de La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Fiesta de San Lorenzo. In effect, Danza Azteca began to act as a nascent anti-colonial spiritual force among Chicanas/os in Denver, Colorado. Presently, the group serves various communities in the Central US states of Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, Kansas, Wyoming, and Nebraska. In addition to the political and cultural influence demonstrated by the group, a potential for autonomous economic activity has been established that will be called the Tianguiz.

Tianguiz are marketplaces organized and regulated in a Mexican

indigenous fashion. The word is a colloquial term used in México and is derived from the Nahuatl word *tianquiztli*, which, according to the dictionary compiled by Rémi Siméon, is a mercado or plaza. In contemporary México, local merchants organize a weekly Tianguiz for their barrio or town, in such a way as to not interfere with another Tianguiz in the immediate vicinity. The dictionary entry for the word refers a similar organizational structure existent in pre-Hispanic times: "dividido en barrios, formando calles, donde colocaban los comerciantes foráneos" (Siméon 1977). Even shop owners pull their merchandise out of their *locales* and onto the street to participate in this traditional indigenous institution.

Grupo Tlaloc, as a specific and empirical example, is a group of Danzantes who have over the years made arrangements with the organizers to have a space to create a Tianguiz on the Cinco de Mayo and the 16 de Septiembre in Denver, Colorado. During the Santa Fe Drive fiesta for the 16 de Septiembre in 1995, Grupo Tlaloc turned a parking lot into an indigenous intercultural exchange between the group itself, Two-Elk Enterprises (a Lakota-Haitian Indian jewelry production firm), and Markahuasi (a traditional Andean musical group). In effect, this event produced an economic interchange between three autonomous indigenous traditions of knowledge and commodity production.

Xicana/o Danzantes, especially those that emerged in Denver were formatively impacted by the call to unity through decolonization made by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales in the 1969 National Youth Liberation Conference. This is evidenced by the participation of all of Grupo Tlaloc in the 25th Anniversary Chicano Mexicano Youth Liberation Conference held in 1994. Over the years, Danza Azteca has provided a vehicle for the manifestation of a well-developed indigenous Chicano/a identity as called for by Luis Valdez and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. The portrayal of Chicanas/os as "an awakening people, an emerging nation, a new breed" (Muñoz 1989) points specifically to the kind of Chicano/a self-determination manifested by Danza Azteca.

Danza Azteca demonstrates an adherence to the numerous prescriptions for Chicano/a Liberation set forth in *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (1969) (Valdez and Steiner 1972). Danzantes celebrate the achievements and philosophies of "'revolutionary' role models" (such as, Kuauhtémok and Emiliano Zapata, both Nahuatl-speaking freedom fighters) to decolonize themselves (Muñoz 1989: 76-77). Danza Azteca bases itself on symbols of indigenous Mexican culture and reflects a rejection of gabacho culture. It is important to note that even Mestizo products of knowledge are indigenous in the colonial and post-colonial contexts. Danzantes also tend to reject colonial aspects of Spanish culture in favor

of the indigenous in order to form their unique interpretation of Mexican ethnicity and culture.

As a base, Chicano Liberation has made possible the above described attempts which reject economic practices based on capitalistic goals and values, and favor, instead, humanistic practices and objectives played out in a particular aspect of Chicano/a culture: The call from Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales to replace capitalist economic institutions has been carried forward, not by people's cooperatives as envisioned by Fidel Castro-inspired Chicanas/os, but by ancient indigenous institutions, such as, the Tianguiz–apparently more appropriately geared toward the social and economic need of Xicanas/os.

An important influence on the transsocietal transformation under discussion has been the massive migration of Mexican people into the US. This has undoubtedly transformed Chicano/a methods of Liberation in a direction more consistent with similar transformations occurring in México and elsewhere in the Americas.

I believe that points of confluence between various indigenous peoples have made such pan-American transformation possible. Using the three groups in interaction as described above as examples–Mexicanas/os, Chicanas/os, Indias/os–a demonstration of numerous centers of agreement on method and theory informing anti-colonial actions is possible. First of all, "changes in both the domestic and international climate of ideas" (Gómez-Quiñones 1990: 103) resulted in emergent liberation ideology throughout the globe among third-world peoples. Andean Indians, Chicanas/os, and Lakotas were all impacted by this and engaged in armed revolts soon after.[16] Each group has rallied around their respective and respected heroes: Andeans with Tupac Amaru, Chicanas/os with Emiliano Zapata, Xicanas/os with Kuauhtémok, and Lakotas with Crazy Horse. In addition, each engages in specific action that rejects an Anglo Protestant culture that has brought them to a point of convergence of action.

Thus, the true importance of the Tianguiz can be seen as creating a social space for the opportunity of decolonizing the minds of individuals in their communities. In the same respect, La Conquista and the social integrative function of Danza Azteca work toward decolonization by reserving social space in the political, cultural, and spiritual realms of the Mexican origin community.

Life-cycle Rituals

There are three basic forms of interaction that Danzantes engage in with the community. The first type consists of ceremonies explicitly done to fulfill obligations recognized as integral to being a Danzante is one of three formats in which she or he participates in life-cycle rituals. The second format is participation in Mexican-origin events of cultural,

religious, and political importance to Mexican and Chicano/a people. Interaction of this type has developed into a meshing of Danza Azteca ceremony and Mexican Catholic ceremonies in some communities. In effect, at times, Danzantes are asked to perform the duties of priests and ministers. In other words, they are solicited to perform ceremonies of baptism, quinceañera, marriage, and death. Interviews of leaders in the Danza movement, my personal experiences in La Danza (Maestas 1997), and the findings of Norma Williams (1990) about Mexican American life-cycle rituals will all aid in exploring this issue.

I will be looking at Danza Azteca and the ways in which it has entered the stream of Chicano/a culture through life-cycle rituals. Conceptualization through a modified use of symbolic interactionism by Williams (1990) defines the functions and purposes of life-cycle rituals among Mexican American people in Tejas. Many of Williams' (1990) observations and findings can be expanded and applied to general Mexican origin culture in the Southwest by using the empirical evidence of the existence of cultural expressions common throughout the Southwest. Her study recognizes patterns of culture change among Mexican Americans and highlights the causes as bureaucratization and routinization of life; she concludes the latter are intensifying as are the changes being effected. It is important to realize that the use of this theoretical framework will further modulate my discussion on Danza Azteca. My use of the term *Chicana/o* explicitly refers to an aspect of Mexican origin culture that has articulated itself as a political reawakening of cultural knowledge obtained through cultural legacies and historic developments within Mexican origin communities.

In addition, I plan to look at the importance of ritual (or its absence) in the modern life of Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os as described by Williams (1990). Causal relationships between hegemonic forces, such as bureaucratization and the increased routinization of social life and the detrimental effects on family traditions, are looked at by Williams (1990) in both her chapters on working-class and professional Mexican Americans.[17]

The third format has been personal observation of Danza Azteca integrating itself in general community events. This evidence is supported by reports of Danza Azteca activities on Nexis/Lexis (1994 and 1995) and the Ethnic Newswatch (Mead 1995) databases. Keywords used to prompt the search engines were Danza Azteca, Danza Mexica, Aztec Dance, and Danzantes. What was discovered based on this were articles relating to indigenous Mexican marketplaces, POW WOWs, large scale secular performing arts shows (civic events, concerts, football games, cultural, and trade shows, as well as mass media). At times, life-cycle rituals have been performed in most of these contexts.

According to Williams, we must recognize that "in the past there was

a close connection among life-cycle rituals, religion, and familial integration, a linkage that has been dissolving in recent decades" (1990: 137). She reports that the extended family has also been disappearing, especially among the professional class. Findings in Tejas are important to general Mexican American trends, in that Tejanos have historically retained their culture through many changes in their environment. From these findings and the work done by James Diego Vigil (1988) pertaining to the "human ecology" of southern California barrios, it seems reasonable to accept that the extended family is no longer central to the routines of life, especially in those directly impacted by gang behavior.

Williams' (1990) findings about life-cycle rituals shows that micro-group choices have restricted *compadrazgo*[18] to the immediate family. Again, the most obvious result of this has been the disappearance of the extended family. In addition, there is a loss of memory regarding traditional ceremonies. Although the working class has a stronger symbolic link with tradition, there is a considerable generational gap between persons in their late 30s and 40s and those in their 20s and 30s. As the prescribed ritual begins to fade from memory, the religious significance becomes lost and the ritual becomes a mere occasion for socializing.

Williams (1990) offers the explanation that life-cycle rituals are not reflecting the changing power relationships and roles among Mexican American men and women. So, Mexican Americans, especially women, are making their own goals and becoming more indifferent to the social integrative needs of the larger family. Many women are leaving the traditional family and becoming single parents. Even older women are expanding their economic and social roles outside of the house. Williams (1990) also raises the important point that the bureaucratic structures and routinization of modern society have made dissolution of the extended family the path of least resistance. Moreover, the identities represented in the life-cycle rituals of Mexican American traditions no longer provide the individual with an appropriate context with which to integrate himself or herself into the larger society. Women are expected to be good wives and mothers and to stay home, while men are expected to provide for the home. Both of these are today impossibilities for the Mexican American working-class families in 1999. The woman must work outside the home in order to help support the family, especially since at $5.00 per hour, there are not enough hours in the week for a man to provide for a family without additional income. Present life-cycle rituals are voiced without recognition of reality, and so, many Mexican Americans are deciding that the ritual and its cost are unnecessary.

I have developed a series of explanations to describe processes and problems of life-cycle rituals, role taking, and role making. In a traditional non-endangered culture, socialization is a simple and straightforward

process. Parents are assisted in the socialization of the individual by the extended family, and the society uses life-cycle rituals to integrate the individual into the larger social body. Life roles are taken, being learned with minimal intervention from outside the extended family, and only minor adjustments are made through individual role-making and identity formation.

Socialization and subsequent acculturation of an individual member of a subordinate group in the US, such as Native Americans, is radically more complex. The parents engage in competition for the individual's attention with the extended family, the subordinate culture, and the US society and its culture. Although parents are arbiters of the access and socializing influences that are placed on the individual, constant bombardment by additional acculturation forces is inevitable. It is important to note that, in general US culture, points of life-cycle importance are only individually reified and not enacted and recognized by an agent with legitimizing knowledge and power. Life roles are not clearly designated, and therefore, roles are not available for taking. Instead, role making occurs usually with little direction on how to integrate them into the larger society. For example, careers are engaged in with no other motive than economic viability and not how they will benefit a community. This is evidenced by common migration (commute) and relocation for employment purposes by US citizens, who have no dire economic need-unlike the case for most Mexican workers who find themselves in the US. In another example, there is a profound contrast between a 16 year old who obtains a driver's license, which carries reified importance to him as an individual, and a 14 year-old Lakota who is rewelcomed into the community with a feast and a naming. In the latter, the individual is legitimized as attaining a new level of importance in the community. A driver's license may provide legal privilege and accountability, but it is generally not celebrated by the community at large.

In the latter case, a role is designated and a ritual is undertaken to legitimate and reify the role within the context of Lakota society. This is only possible with the strict control of acculturating influences by the parents and extended family. So, we see that a conscious choice is made by the parents to direct the child's process of transformation with some boundaries limiting the social destination of the individual. Acceptable influences, such as sweatlodge ceremonies, are consciously permitted to enter the individual's sphere of experience and others are resisted against, such as leaving the reservation to attend college.[19] Points of life-cycle importance are chosen, and prepared for, in order to mark them with life-cycle rituals.

We can separate the problems and obstacles that result in the disappearance of life-cycle rituals and the impacts this can have on

communities and can compare the life cycle rituals with proposed functions defined by Williams (1990) for Mexican Americans in Tejas:

Table 2

PROBLEMS IN TEJANO CULTURE

1. Dissolution of extended family
2. Loss of collective memory about rituals
3. Changing roles and power relationships
4. Bureaucratization and routinization

Past-Traditional	*vs.*	*Actual-Modern*
1. Maintaining extended Family		Maintaining immediate family
2. Religious Significance		Only Social Occasions
3. Define Pertinent Life Roles		Defines Inadequate Roles
4. Viable Support System		No Support System

Danza Azteca performs various ritual functions in the Chicano/a community, some of which are life-cycle rituals. The traditional heritage of Danza has Mexican-Catholic forms of birth, marriage, death, and other rites of passage. It must be recognized that the forms lean toward the indigenous side of the spectrum between Roman Catholic and Mexican Indian rituals, but they are Mexican Catholic nonetheless. In my experience, Danza Azteca has grown in prominence regarding its integration in life-cycle rituals. It has been traditional in many Mexican Catholic families to invite indigenous dancers to provide entertainment at weddings, quiceañeras, and baptisms. Recently, families have approached the Danzantes with requests of implementing the actual ritual. This points to a need in the Chicano/a community for an alternative to the Catholic Church for those who are not being adequately served and are amenable to Danza Azteca. The continued use and increased inclusion of indigenous Mexican cultural artifacts and ideas in life-cycle rituals among Mexican origin people in Aztlán shows that the proliferation Danza Azteca is being welcomed by the community.

As stated above, Danza Azteca serves to a reserve social space within the ritual context of Chicanas/os. This ritual space makes room for altares, ritual formulas, and ceremonial expressions. Altares are the spatial reifications of sacred space done for the express purpose of constructing a context for approaching the sacred.[20] Ritual formulas are temporal sequences of prescribed actions for sacrilizing and working within a sacred space (Sten 1990). Ceremonial expressions are the whole event that consists of altares, ritual formulas, and ceremonial knowledge (dance steps and songs) that are put together to make a vehicle for social and spiritual integration.

All four of the problems that have been shown to be related to life-

cycle rituals among Mexican Americans are specifically dealt with in Danza Azteca ensayos and ceremony. What is created is a new extended family that integrates the Danzante into an international community that regularly interacts in order to expand the knowledge base of the community. This extended family is created and recreated through a form of compadrazgo, which is easily accepted by Mexican origin people. Any achievement or new accessory within Danza is sacrified through a blessing ceremony in which *padrinos* and *madrinas* are selected to sponsor the Danzante's "coming out." This last ritual can refer to the initiation of a new traje, drum, or aspect of responsibility in La Danza. "Coming out" both legitimizes the object in the community and serves to reify the extended family relations within Danza Azteca.

Memory is infused into Chicano/a communities in the form of ritual and ceremony as prescribed by elders in Danza Azteca. This act deals with the problematic loss of collective memory about rituals. Without such memory, life-cycle rituals become no more than social occasions with non-pertinent role models. That occasion results in ritual motion without community integration of values. With the collective memory made available by Danza ceremonies and the human ability to synthesize innovations to meet the immediate needs of the community, alteration in gender relations and other power relations in the Mexican community context become possible and manifest. As stated earlier in the essay, Conchero and Danza traditions are unique among cultural traditions from México in that there are no explicit barriers to power and authority acquisition by women (Toor 1947).

One new change that has embarrassed and altered the male personality in Chicano/a culture is the new found power of Chicanas. Williams encounters empirical evidence in Tejano culture that shows a similar transformation among Mexican Americans. This feminist movement, due to the necessity of women to cross earlier social boundaries and the self-determination of women to expand their horizons to equal breadth as men, has been recognized and supported in Danza since its beginnings.

The name *Malinche*, term for the key female role in Danza is reported as commonly used by all historical sources (Aguilar 1986 and 1992; Maestas 1997; Stone 1975; Toor 1947; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992; Vento 1994). The older sources are definite in their description of women's roles in La Danza. A photo caption from the 1920s reads: "Rosita, an officer in a group of conchero dancers of the Federal District. It is the only dance in which adult women may take part" (Toor 1947: Plate 73). Similarly, a leader of the Danza states,

> Pues este creo yo que es La Malinche. Se le dicen a las mujeres porque eran Malinches todas las mujeres. Supuestamente era el nombramiento. Porque había Malinches y había personas que les decían doncellas, ¿no?

> Entonces supuestamente La Malinche se casó con Hernán Cortés. Entonces, siempre se les ha dicho a las mujeres que son las Malinches porque anteriormente, desde que nosotros conocemos, lo poco que conocemos de danza, había Malinches, que estaban integradan al grupo. (Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992: 45)

Moreover, this is supported by the strong representation of women leaders in Danza Azteca in Aztlán. Most of the larger groups are politically dominated by women and speak toward a change of substantial transformation in Xicanas/os participating in Danza Azteca in Aztlán.

David Abalos prescribes a form of individual self-determination that he calls transformation. He describes the actions that begin this transformation in these words:

> to break with the significant others who have held us there . . . to enact the relationship of incoherence wherein we break with our parents, and our religious upbringing and begin to contradict, to go against, to counter the established tradition, and to see and enact a different world. (Abalos 1993: 9)

Abalos says that the way of transformation is what allows us to experience the revolutionary love of one's people in the sense used by Che Guevara. In other words, we Chicanas and Chicanos seek "to protect and enhance our humanity and that of others" (Abalos 1993: 41). His argument rests on elevating this paradigm of transformation above religious struggle as a more effective way of effecting social change; however, it is based on the empirical evidence of Danza Azteca and the Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Both movements show the necessity for a coherent context of belief and tradition to underlie any social transformation.

This necessary transformation is the solution to problem four in Tejano cultural maintenance, that is, the barrier of the bureaucratization and routinization of life in US society. A well-defined discipline maintains the rigor to set aside the compartmentalization of time and disrupt the routinization. I argue that the sacrifices undergone by Danzantes reenact the rejection of the US society's values of secularization and the self-reified repression of the time-clock. Socialization demands that Danzantes sacrifice the time and pain in order to complete obligations (Aguilar 1986 and 1992; INAH 1965; Maestas 1997; Stone 1975; Toor 1947; Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992; Vento 1994).

Conclusion

From the above it can be concluded that Danza Azteca provides social integration for the community, family, and individual for both members

and other participants. Danzantes, create new extended family ties and maintain a community based on ritual action, for the purpose of the individual activation of the sacred. Not only does this produce a decolonizing force in the Xicano/a community, but also in the Xicana community of women who are in the process of enacting their own liberation from Spanish patriarchalism. Danzante women make explicit demands that carry increased authority due to their status in Danza and Xicanas/os are forced to re-negotiate power relations in the home as well as the circle. The extended family serves as an audience encouraging conformity to its ideals.[21]

The roles that emerge from Danza Azteca are transmitted through ritual to members and other participants. So, the roles and values mentioned above, such as gender equity, brotherhood, importance of Danza Azteca, and subordination of the importance of the dominant society are inherent in the roles prescribed in ritual and ceremonial knowledge. Therefore, these contributions are potentially communicated to the broader community through the solicitation of life-cycle rituals done in the context of Danza Azteca.

Furthermore, Danzantes have consciously reached beyond their personal lives to the political and historical networks that have severely limited their capacities and developed plus enhanced the decolonizing forces within the political, cultural, and religious realms in Chicano/a communities and the economic spheres of Indianist culture. A conscious choice has been made to identify all Danzantes as primarily indigenous and this has defined community interaction. From this choice a generalization of the formative influences of Danza Azteca in Aztlán can be discerned. The Chicano Movement provided the incentive to search out and find the original culture. The México-US socioeconomic context in southern California made immigration attractive, even to a Maestro de Danza Azteca. The Mexican American institution of Ballet Folclórico provided an entering point and valuable economic connection for the proliferation of Danza Azteca: Andrés Segura. Finally, the underlying need of a people who were not satisfied with a "nationality" without a tradition, led Xicanas/os to deliberately adopt one with which to serve the needs of a spiritually and culturally marginalized community.

Danza Azteca itself originated in spiritually and culturally marginalized communities and has evolved into an effective stratagem for maintaining and determining their indigenous culture. The framework of the culture has proven itself malleable to indigenous and immigrant Mexican and Mexican origin communities throughout the geographic region of North America. An incredibly differentiated community has emerged that addresses ritual needs of all communities in the traditional context of Danza Azteca.

This culture has gone from being endangered to striving and expanding

its frontiers using as its paradigm indigenous cultural resistance with the express purpose of proliferating itself. This social strategy is called La Conquista and has been responsible for institutionalizing Danza Azteca in many new communities. This has been possible due to the acceptance and potential of an indigenous Mestizaje which, by controlling certain aspects of knowledge production, increased its range and influence without administrative recognition or retaliation from the nation-state which governs.

Danza Azteca, as an indigenous Mestizaje, continually adapting to changing environments since at least 1531, is older than any nation-state in the Americas and has had a continuous uninterrupted knowledge production throughout the centuries. The culture as it exists today is as modern and evolved as any other, yet has a theoretical and spiritual base for the survival and maintenance of a culture that is at least 450 years old. Danza Azteca opposes crass materialism and the modern emphasis of life in the US. Its ability to reflect on 500 years of resistance has allowed it to reverse the acculturation process among Xicanas/os and Mexican Catholicism is becoming consciously more Indianist. By providing ritual services to Chicanas/os, Danza Azteca is transforming the consciousness of people in a direction more pertinent to the modern world.

Danza Azteca provides the power, knowledge, and spiritual base necessary to serve the social, integrative needs of people in a world that demands gender equity and greater tolerance, through recognizing and respecting the plurality of all people. Finally, Danza Azteca is an autonomous cultural force that, geared toward Xicanas/os, reinforces the importance of a supportive extended family and the reversal of US assimilative processes that subordinate other cultures for the exhalation of the capitalist ethic.

Notes

1. An earlier version paper was first presented in ChSt 3020 in partial fulfillment of requirements for Prof. Estevan Flores, Fall 1995. First thanks goes out to the Jefes y Jefas y Danzantes de La Danza Azteca and their supporting Chicano/a community. Second thanks goes out to the professors in the CSERA and Cultural Anthropology Departments at the University of Colorado at Boulder. All mistakes in content are the sole responsibility of the author.
2. *Aztlán* denotes more than the geographical location; it also refers to the cultural and political context of the manifestation of Danza Azteca and other forms of Mexican origin cultural expression taking place within the colonized context of Hispanic and Anglo Protestant culture.
3. *Tejas* will be used in place of Texas when we are speaking primarily within the empirical context of people who are Tejanos, i.e., Mexicanos in Tejas.
4. *Subaltern* refers to populations and individuals who are colonized, exploited, or otherwise marginalized; thereby becoming subaltered by hegemonic forces (San Juan 1992: index).
5. México-Tenochtitlán had a population of at least 300,000, while Spain had no cities

with more than 40,000 (see: Gomora 1988 and Molina 1980).

6. Exterior interventions, such as development, present situations in which interests do not adhere to this process. Historically, some form of coercion is necessary to insure community submission.
7. Use of cultural evolutionary thought assumes a destination for cultures, usually that of the researcher, and the "other" culture is seen primarily as lacking certain traits. The lack of which explains their demise or assimilation (Eddy 1991).
8. Information on the specific case of the Chichimecatl and Toltecatl comes from León-Portilla (1990: 23-54). I agree with the information given in this table and its conceptual basis except for the assumption that agriculturalists have a more varied diet than hunter-gatherers. Nutritional Anthropology has conducted studies using food remains and comparisons of present day agriculturalists to present-day hunter-gatherers and found that due to the variable diet the latter have a far more diverse diet and that agriculturalists had the far more simple diet due to their greater dependence on a limited number of staples (Dufour 1994).
9. *Anáhuac* literally means the "land between the oceans," but is usually taken to represent all areas of Mexika, or Aztec, influence in Pre-Hispanic times.
10. When "Danza" is used without the descriptive adjective "Azteca," it refers to the general cultural expression practiced throughout the North American geographic region, of which the Chicano/a form is a part.
11. Joe R. Feagin and Clairece Booher Feagin, *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), page 14.
12. See: The Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center, "Transcripts from the First International Danza Azteca Symposium, April 21-22, 1990," San Diego Kosoy: The Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center, 1992; and Mario Aguilar, "Soy Danzante Por Amor," San Diego Kosoy: The Mexica'yotl Indio Cultural Center 1992.
13. *Xicana/o* is used when referring to the aspect of the Chicano/a community that has embraced their indigenous heritage as being more pertinent in their expression of their culture than the Spanish, Hispanic, Mexican, US heritages. Notwithstanding, co-identity may occur with any number of these as well.
14. *Borinquen*, the indigenous name for Puerto Rico, is a liberationist term from Puerto Rican nationalism.
15. Klor de Alva describes the similiarities in the process of liberation identification between Chicano/a and Puerto Rican people in general. Much of this description is applicable to the extended family of which I am speaking.
16. Consider the Andean-Shining Path uprising in 1985, Chicanas/os reclaiming Tierra Amarilla in 1989, and Lakotas rebelling at Wounded Knee in 1973.
17. Further support for the theory that bureaucratization and routinization are adversely affecting Latinos as a whole can be found in the *Latin American Studies Journal*. Its articles pertain to the specific relation of the Catholic Church in the religious and ritual life of Latinos in general and Mexican origin people in specific.
18. *Compadrazgo* refers to an alliance between two sets of parents with one set baptizing the child of the other.
19. It was in large part for this reason that Sinte Gleska College in Pine Ridge was created (see: Grobsmith 1981).
20. Reckoning sacred space in this sense is taken from Joseph Campbell's *The Power of Myth* (1988).
21. Integration of alternative family values is another quality of cultures of resistance (see: Feagin and Feagin, 1996: 14).

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IV

Standing and Pressing Social Issues: Chicana/o Studies, Bilingual Education, US English, and NAFTA

Chicano Studies: A Political Strategy of the Chicano Movement

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This article constructs a way to think about the political role of Chicano Studies. It does this by analyzing, in historical and ideological terms, the relationship of Chicano Studies to the Chicano Movement. The argument develops upon a set of related premises.

First, a principle characteristic of the historical relationship of Chicano Studies to the Chicano Movement was its highly significant political dimension.[1] Second, the central defining characteristic of Chicano Studies is its dual identity as a Social Science and as a self-conscious ideology of the Chicano Movement.[2] This dual identity of Chicano Studies is rooted in its political relationship to the Chicano Movement. Third, this historical relationship of Chicano Studies to the Chicano Movement was an individually significant element of a more complex historical relationship between a set of Chicano Studies-like institutions–that includes programs such as Afro-American Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, Native American Studies, and Asian American Studies–and the social movement period and politics of the 1960s.[3]

These premises are the foundation for the argument that a political strategy (ideological identity) is inscribed in the academic role (Social Science identity) of Chicano Studies.

What Is Chicano Studies?

This argument concerning the political role of Chicano Studies presumes relatively specific generalizations about the meaning of both

Chicano Studies and the Chicano Movement. In relation to the former, this argument is based upon the idea, the mission, and the role of Chicano Studies that is conveyed by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara.*[4] *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* was the result of a 1969 conference of Chicana/o educational professionals and students held in Santa Bárbara, California and was published as part of the proceedings.

Formally, the intent of the Santa Bárbara conference was to develop a master plan for Chicano higher education in the state of California. However, the historical significance of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* is that it was an expression of ideology by an organized gathering of the "activist social base of the political movement for Chicano Studies."[5] That is, the Santa Bárbara conference was a gathering of academics, educational professionals, and students who were waging political campaigns to institutionalize the initial Chicano programs on California campuses. The mission and role of Chicano Studies outlined by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* was a collective statement of beliefs, ideals, and vision by this political movement.

This identification of Chicano Studies with *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, even at the level of generality implied by the idea of a mission and role, is controversial. Today, this assertion would have as much opposition as support among those who can claim to represent Chicano Studies. Nonetheless, there is a historical basis for this argument.[6]

Provocatively stated in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara,* the image of mission and role for Chicano Studies is one of instrumental means to political ends. This characterization is provocative because *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* is also advocating the institutionalization of Chicano Studies as a new *Social Science.*[7] However, it was doing this in an institutional environment that defined legitimate social science as "objective, disinterested, and non-political." Essentially, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* had to explain Chicano Studies through a language of contradictory terms: a "legitimate" academic endeavor even as it is "illegitimately" ideological.[8]

This characterization of "instrumental means to political ends" emphasizes that *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* is explicit in identifying Chicano Studies as a constituent and as a protagonist of the Chicano Movement.[9] More specifically, the Chicano Studies of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* is an important *political strategy* (a means) in the Chicano Movement struggle for social justice for the Chicano community (political ends).[10]

What Is the Chicano Movement?

The characterization of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara's* Chicano Studies as a political strategy presumes a relatively specific conceptualization of

the Chicano Movement. This concept is a composite drawn from the work of Rodolfo Acuña (1988), Juan Gómez Quiñones (1978, 1990), and Carlos Muñoz (1989).[11] In this composite image, the Chicano Movement is a period of radicalized social activism at the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s that became a "counterhegemonic force" in American society.[12] This characterization places the Chicano Movement in a historical context of 1960s social movements that together, for a historically brief period of time, projected a revolutionary transformation of the United States of America (USA).

Counterhegemonic (revolutionary) in its significance, the Chicano Movement was internally quite varied in its forms of social activism, that is: rural and urban; local, regional, and national; economic, political, and cultural; legalistic and extra-legalistic; working class oriented and middle class oriented; gender oriented, and non-gender oriented; progressively liberal and progressively radical; racially specific and inter-racial; and nationalistic and internationalist–among its most significant internal distinctions. It was, nonetheless, a common social movement in that the heterogeneous forms of social activism were commonly aimed at reformation of the exploitive and oppressive relationships between the institutions of American society and the Chicano community.

Ideologically, Chicano Movement activism was driven by its rejection of "assimilation" and positive assertion of "self-determination" (Muñoz 1989). Politically, this ideological orientation of the Chicano Movement was visibly manifested by its strategic reliance on institutional "confrontation" over a previously dominant Mexican American political culture strategically oriented toward "accommodation" (Gómez-Quiñones 1978, 1990).

History, Identity, and Power

This broad interpretation of the Chicano Movement highlights a relationship between its social activism and the emergence of a Chicano cultural identity. In Muñoz's terminology, the Chicano Movement was a related struggle for identity and for power (the "power" to struggle for social justice and equity) (Muñoz 1989).

The source of this relationship between identity and power was the Chicano Movement perspective toward the Chicano historical experience. That is, the general object of Chicano Movement social activism was the subordinate status (economic, political, cultural) of the Chicano community in American society. In the Movement's perspective, this subordinate status was the result of a historical experience of exploitation and oppression by Anglo society that was spiritually and materially conditioned by an interrupted and corrupted development of cultural identity.

This was how the image of the Chicano/a historical experience was conveyed, for example, by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' epic poem and Chicano Movement symbol, *I Am Joaquín* (1976) (Gonzales 1972). As expressed by *I Am Joaquín*, at the core of a self-determined Chicano cultural identity there would necessarily have to be *Chicano community knowledge*, a (community) self-consciousness, of its historical experience.

It was this view of the Chicano community's historical experience that gave rise to the idea of the Chicano Movement as a related struggle for power and for identity. Simply said, "the problem" was caused by a historical experience of exploitation and oppression that was conditioned by a systematically interrupted and corrupted development of Chicano cultural identity. In turn, the solution would be a mutually conditioned and related struggle for social justice *and* for a self-determined cultural identity. This Chicano Movement self-image as a dual struggle will underlie *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s role for Chicano Studies as a strategic political means in the quest for social justice for the Chicano community.

Ideology and Internal Colony Theory

Explaining how and why these characterizations of Chicano Studies and of the Chicano Movement project a strategic political role for the former is an argument that I refer to as the ideological role of internal colonial theory.[13] As a framework for social theory (and analytically distinct from its role as ideology), internal colonialism was a conceptualization of the Chicano historical experience which depicted Chicanos as a colonized people.[14]

In the early period between 1969 and 1973 an internal colonial framework was dominant among the scholar/activists who identified with *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*. For example, Muñoz has emphasized the links between *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, internal colonial theory, and the scholar/activists who organized the National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies in the early 1970s (Muñoz 1983). Thus, as *social theory* the internal colonial framework was historically significant in the emergence of Chicano Studies academically as a new *Social Science*.

However, analytically distinct from its historical significance as the only social theoretical paradigm to ever achieve a dominant status within Chicano Studies, was the ideological role of internal colonial theory. By ideological role I am indicating that internal colonial theory was not only a specific theoretical framework that had relative strengths and weaknesses. It was *also* a social theoretical expression of the Chicano Movement's anti-colonialist ideology as well.[15] In other words, ideologically, internal colonialism was theory (Social Science) that linked the racial social movements in the United States (US), and thus the study of the Chicano

historical experience, to the period of worldwide anti-colonialist rebellion after World War II.[16] This is an argument that states that internal colonial theory was the Social Science form through which the ideology of the Chicano Movement was inscribed into the academic role of Chicano Studies.

This ideological assessment argues that anti-colonialism was the ideology capable of encompassing and unifying the heterogeneous ideological manifestations of the Chicano Movement–various and specific notions of nationalism, cultural nationalism, Marxism, liberalism, feminism–and generating a common direction of political activism. In this sense, anti-colonialism was the central piece, the hegemonic and organizing component, of the Chicano Movement's implicit counterhegemonic worldview.

This ideological assessment of the Chicano Movement is central to understanding two fundamental points. First, it explains why the Chicano Movement would be perceived as a related struggle for power and for identity. Second, an anti-colonialist ideological worldview is critical to understanding the strategic political role for Chicano Studies that is articulated by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara.*

In terms of the first point, it was because the Chicano Movement looked at the world through an anti-colonialist prism that it could "see" a relationship between a self-determined Chicano cultural identity and the struggle for social justice for the Chicano community. This is an argument that an ideology is a worldview. That is, an ideology is a relatively specific social group's, (in this case, the Chicano Movement) relatively specific view (anti-colonialism), of the world and thus of what is "seen."[17]

In other words, if one looks at the world, and specifically at the Chicano historical experience, through the hegemonic liberal/conservative ideology of the US (American Liberal democracy) there is no *necessary* relationship between cultural identity and social justice to be seen in this view of the world. Thus, a concept of the Chicano Movement as a related struggle for power and for identity could not be developed in terms of the dominant US ideology of "liberal democracy."[18]

Further, if one were to look at the world, and specifically at the Chicano historical experience, through the dominant critical ideology of that period, Marxism, there would still be no necessary relationship between cultural identity and social justice to be "seen."[19] Thus, there was no concept of the Chicano Movement as a dual struggle developed through this worldview either.

However, if one looked at the world, and specifically the Chicano historical experience, through an anti-colonialist ideology, *then*, one could see the relationship between a self-determined cultural identity and social justice. It is in this sense that the Chicano Movement's self-image as a

dual struggle assumed an anti-colonialist perspective of the Chicano historical experience. It was the ideological role of internal colonial theory to inscribe this anti-colonialist worldview and its dual conception of the Chicano Movement into the Social Science of Chicano Studies.

Colonization and History

Why was this so? Why was it an anti-colonialist ideology that unveiled the relationship between social justice for the Chicano community and a self-determined Chicano cultural identity, and thereby, a dual conception of the Chicano Movement's political struggle? More importantly, in unveiling this relationship between cultural identity and social justice, how does the Chicano Movement's anti-colonialist ideology indicate the *strategic political role* for Chicano Studies that will be expressed by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*?

My analysis of these questions emphasizes how they dramatically express the academic critique of social science on the Mexican American that gave rise to Chicano Studies as a new Social Science.[20] Specifically, I will analyze the idea of Chicano History that was the impetus for that critique.

This critique of social science on the Mexican American was first articulated in *El Grito*, the first Chicano Studies academic journal (Muñoz 1989: 63). In its early period of publication (1967-1972) *El Grito* was characterized by its polemical intellectual war against "Social Science on the Mexican American." This "war" was closely identified with the journal's editor and founder Octavio Romano IV.[21]

The base for Romano's critique of social science on the Mexican American was his idea about the relationship of Chicano History to social science on the Mexican American. He most clearly, and in his most harshly polemical style, spelled out this idea in the article, "The Anthropology and Sociology of The Mexican American: The Distortion of Mexican American History" (Romano 1968). In that piece's argument, the dominant image of Chicanos being portrayed by social science is one in which they are "the cause of their own problems." That is, anthropology and sociology explained Chicanos' subordinate status in American society in terms of their own cultural deficiencies. Romano's approach to the polemical deconstruction of this prevalent cultural explanation for Chicano inequality was his critical analysis of the relationship between history and social science.

In Romano's analytical framework, all social scientific studies of contemporary social problems, like those examining the various manifestations of Chicano inequality, explicitly or implicitly assume a historical interpretation. Romano's argument was that according to

(dominant) social science, "Chicanos have no history." What he meant was that social science's portrayal of Mexican Americans as the "cause of their own problems" was constructed on a marginalization of the history of Chicano resistance to racial and cultural exploitation and oppression by a dominant Anglo culture.

Romano's idea about Chicano History was an element of his epistemology. For Romano, because of the various human ways by which history (the past) is connected and related to the present, a distortion on one end of the relation will affect a distortion of the other. In the context of this epistemology the false portrayal of Chicano culture used to explain contemporary Chicano inequality had to be based in an equally false "distortion of Mexican American history." Romano concluded his article by calling upon Chicanos to recover a true account of their history (their past) in order to expose the racist ideology of social science on the Mexican American (their present).

In critically analyzing this relationship between the dominant perspectives of social science and a distorted history of Chicanos, Romano initiated not only what would become the Chicano Studies perspective of Chicano History, but also a Chicano Studies ideological perspective *of history*. The work of Robert Blauner, also a University of California academic, provides the necessary context for understanding this most significant element of Romano's critique of social science on the Mexican American.[22]

In *Racial Oppression in America* (1972), Blauner argued that racial conflict in the 1960s had exposed social science in the US to be fundamentally misdirected and as an actual obscuratant in terms of the meaning of race in American society (2). According to Blauner, social science was pointing in the wrong direction in terms of explanations regarding contemporary problems of racial inequality and the social violence and conflict it engendered. The source of this obscurantism, Blauner argued, was social science's denial of the *central role* of colonialism in American history (Blauner 1972: 11-12).

Blauner's central point was that understanding *present-day problems of racial inequality* presumed a colonialist perspective of American, US, history. Specifically, an understanding of present-day racial inequality presumed a colonialist perspective of American history that would *bring* into view the "internal colonialist" historical experiences of the nation's racial minorities. In other words, social science's denial of the central role of colonialism in American history denied the internal colonialist historical experience of racial minorities in the US. In Blauner's analysis, the historical impact of "processes of colonization" on racial minorities was a central, an irreducible and necessary (even if not sufficient), explanation for *present day problems* of race in the US.

Thus, Romano's observation that according to social science "Chicanos have no history" of resistance to racial and cultural exploitation and oppression could be explained by the fact that according to this same social science, (American) history had no colonialism to be resisted. In this sense, Blauner's analysis of social science's marginalization of US colonialist history provides the concept for the ideology unraveled by Romano's critique of social science on the Mexican American. It was in this sense that Romano's critique initiated not only a Chicano Studies perspective of Chicano history, but also a Chicano Studies' ideological perspective of History.

Colonialism and Cultural Identity

It was the (theoretical) linkage between these ideas of History as ideology and Chicano history as one of internal colonization that framed and brought into view a strategic Chicano Movement political role for Chicano Studies. In terms of the various radical and revolutionary theories integral to the historical context of the 1960s social movements, those of Franz Fanon offer an insightful explanation of this political role.[23]

A unique feature of colonialist domination, according to Fanon, was that it was not satisfied to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated people. In fact, this particular form of domination, Fanon argued, assumed first of all destruction of the oppressed people's history (Fanon 1963: 210). That is, colonialist domination assumed destruction of the colonized people's social consciousness of their history. In essence, Fanon was asserting that maintaining stable colonialist relations of domination presumed undermining a people's common or community knowledge of their history.

In Fanon's thesis it was only through undermining a people's consciousness of their cultural history, and thus of their cultural capacities, that the colonizer was able to induce a *dependency* upon the economic, political, and other social institutions of colonialist exploitation and oppression among the colonized:

> ... the total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation, and bestiality. (Fanon 1963: 211)

Thus, a central point of his argument was that stable colonialist relations of (racial) domination presumed a self conscious participation by the colonized in the institutional and structural mechanisms of their own

exploitation and oppression. In the colonialist form of domination, this was accomplished by depriving the colonized of their historical consciousness, and "filling their heads" with an internalized consciousness that only *accommodation* to colonialist racial inequality is "practical" and "realistic."

The ideological dimension of Fanon's political analysis was that in undermining a people's historical consciousness, colonialist domination induced a *tendency* toward estrangement and rejection of one's own culture among the colonized. In this sense, it was a form of domination that consciously and systematically sought to subvert cultural solidarity and sense of community.

In Fanon's analysis, through this mechanism of its operation, colonialism was subverting the social and political unity that would be needed to effectively struggle against the more material forms of colonialist exploitation and domination. It was only in relation to this tendency toward cultural estrangement that an *internalized* consciousness of accomodationism and subservience to colonialist relations of racial/cultural inequality could be successfully imposed upon the colonized.

The Colonized Intellectual/Artist

It was in the context of this theoretical perspective of colonialist domination that Fanon elaborated a specific, and a strategic, *political role* for what he referred to as the "colonized intellectual/artist":

> For these individuals, the demand for a national culture and for the affirmation of the existence of such a culture represent a special battlefield. While the politicians situate their action in actual present day events, men of culture take their stand in the field of history. (Fanon 1963: 209)

This role centered on a *mutual* recovering of the history that affirmed the culture of the colonized and *promoting* a social consciousness of it among them. It is this way in which the colonized intellectual/artist generates an ideological alternative to the accomodationism of colonialist social relations that have been systematically imposed upon and internalized by the colonized. In Fanon's analysis, this cultural work was integral and constitutive of the *political* struggle against colonialism:

> In such a situation the claims of the native intellectual are not a luxury but a necessity in any coherent program. (Fanon 1963: 211)

What Fanon meant by this was that the internalized consciousness of

accomodationism ideologically undermined the cultural solidarity and sense of community necessary for an effective mass struggle against the material manifestations of colonial domination. Politically, the implication of this analysis was that the internalized tendency toward accomodationism was a conceptually distinct and strategic political problem in an anti-colonialist struggle. That is, it was conceptually distinct from the political problem of struggle against the material forms of social and racial inequality.

Thus, it was the anti-colonialist worldview expressed by theorists like Fanon that unveiled the work of the intellectual/artist, recovering the cultural history of the colonized, as an integral element of anti-colonialist social liberation.[24] Through the ideological lens of anti-colonialism the distortion of colonized history was exposed as the source of a cultural fragmentation and estrangement that strategically precluded and undermined the social and the political unity presumed by a socially based struggle against colonialist domination. Conversely, the cultural work of the colonized intellectual/artist was a necessary foundation of cultural solidarity and sense of community. This social construction of a self-determined cultural identity was, for Fanon, a necessary *condition* for any meaningful socially based political struggle against colonialism:

> The colonized man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope. But to ensure that hope and to give it form, he must take part in action and throw himself body and soul into the national struggle. . . .
>
> We must not therefore be content with delving into the past of a people in order to find coherent elements, which will counteract colonialism's attempts to falsify and harm. We must work and fight with the same rhythm as the people to construct the future and to prepare the ground where vigorous shoots are already springing up. . . . A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. A national culture in underdeveloped countries should therefore take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom. (Fanon 1963: 232-233)

Chicano Studies–Constructing the Political Subject

It was this anti-colonialist perspective of history, applied to the Chicano historical experience through internal colonial theory, that explains the idea of Chicano Studies expressed by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* The *political* and *strategic* role of Chicano Studies, implied by the Chicano Movement's anti-colonialist ideology, is analogous to that of Fanon's colonized intellectual/artist. The strategic political role of Chicano Studies

is to generate and to organize a social consciousness of cultural solidarity and community, a *self-determined* Chicano cultural identity. This cultural identity is a necessary condition for any effective socially based struggle to realize the material political aims of the Chicano Movement.

In essence, the ideological dimension of the Chicano Studies planned by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* was its role as a strategy for countering the internalized tendency toward accomodationism in the Chicano community. Chicano Studies was a Chicano Movement political strategy based upon a recognition that this tendency toward accomodationism, internal to the Chicano community but systematically imposed externally, was an ideological barrier to *Chicano Movement* politics.

In this analysis, the political role of Chicano Studies is to institutionalize a social reproduction and social reconstruction of the Chicano cultural identity. This cultural identity is necessary to condition an on-going Chicano Movement struggle for social justice and equality for the Chicano community. In other words, Chicano Studies' role is to facilitate the social construction of a political subject for Chicano Movement politics. From the idea of Chicano Studies projected by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, one can analytically derive three related processes through which Chicano Studies would generate this Chicano cultural identity (Contreras 1993: 317-365).

In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* these processes are not self-evident political prescriptions. Rather, it is argued that they frame a "political direction" for Chicano Studies. They are presented here as conceptual frameworks. As such, they enclose, and in this sense, define and prescribe, a spectrum for assessing and evaluating what Chicanos and Chicanas should be doing through their work as intellectuals and artists of Chicano Studies.

In addition, these processes are not necessarily intelligible as frameworks for individual roles in Chicano Studies. They are frameworks giving definition to the "structure" of a political strategy. Their intent is to conceptualize a direction for the politics of Chicano Studies. Thus, they speak more generally to a dimension of Chicano Studies, the political dimension, that should be measured in terms of the work of socially organized units of Chicano Studies–programs, departments, regions, university systems, statewide, and national.

The general idea of the first process is that Chicano Studies generates a Chicano cultural identity by serving theoretical needs of the Chicano Movement. For clarity, this should also be expressed in negative terms. In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* Chicano Studies was not a strategy for serving the theoretical needs of a universal or a homogeneously conceived Chicano community. This is because, ideologically, the political role of Chicano Studies was to generate a socially based Chicano cultural identity that

will be resisted, politically, by a socially based accomodationism that is *internal* to the Chicano community.

In this sense of serving theoretical needs, Chicano Studies was to be an institutional base for mobilizing the resources of the university to produce knowledge and research for developing *Chicano Movement* views, tactics, and strategies for the social liberation of the Chicano community. Hence, this notion of theoretical needs was not posited narrowly as an intellectual or scholarly activity. In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, the analyzing of conditions, the identifying of issues, the setting of priorities, and so on, is part of a more widely conceived process. In serving theoretical needs Chicano Studies self-consciously sets out to facilitate the social construction of a Chicano Movement common sense, a social consciousness that conditions the formation of a *social base* for Chicano Movement actions aimed at, in the terminology of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, "changing our community's structural relationship to gabacho society" (Chicano Coordinating Council 1969: 78).

Second, in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, Chicano Studies was to be an institutional conduit for transmission of human and material resources from the university to the Chicano community. Again, it needs to be emphasized that *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s purpose was to transmit resources to the Chicano community by means of the Chicano Movement. The basic idea was that the university's human and material resources would be applied to the development of new programs and to provide support to existing Chicano Movement organizations and social/political activity in the Chicano community.

This element of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s notion of Chicano Studies' political role had a special significance for Chicano Studies itself. That is, central to this process was a notion that practical activity in the Chicano community must be, institutionally and organizationally, a part of the work and the life of the Chicano Studies "university community."[25] As such, this second process was also emphasizing the dimension of mutuality and interactiveness in the political relationship between Chicano Studies and the Chicano community. In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, an immediate, direct, and organic relationship between Chicano Studies and social and political activism was posed as integral to the realization of Chicano Studies' strategic role in generating a self-determined Chicano cultural identity.

Third, the political strategy aimed at generating the movement's Chicano cultural identity was to be manifested, above *all,* in Chicano Studies' responsibility for promoting and organizing a Chicano student self-consciousness, a Chicanismo among students.[26] *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s idea was that Chicano Studies would be organized to systematically nurture the community consciousness of students. It would

foster an enthusiasm and a sense of responsibility and obligation to use one's education in the service of the community's struggle for social justice and equality.

This third component of the political strategy implied a qualitatively and radically more significant role for Chicano Studies than simply expanding quantitatively the number of Chicanos with college degrees. *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s concept of Chicano Studies called for those involved in Chicano Studies to systematically prepare and organize students to make themselves into a culturally *self-conscious class* of Chicanos. Ideologically, Chicano Studies was a Chicano Movement strategy for socially reproducing itself. In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, Chicano Studies was a process through which students become self-conscious Chicanos-a Chicano Movement.

Central to this third process of "making" Chicanos was the role of Chicano student organizations. The model of student organization in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* was El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). It was to be in MEChA (Chicano/a student organizations) where students would organize in a practical way the ideology "taught and learned" through Chicano Studies.

Key to the realization of this process linking the teaching of Chicano Studies and the potential social force represented by the students is the political relationship that must be established between Chicano faculty (staff and administrators) and Chicano students. This relationship is politicized because it must be established in the context of structural and institutionally imposed university hierarchies and divisions between faculty (staff and administrators) and students.

In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* the political activity of MEChA (more generally, Chicano/a student organizations) is clearly important to the overall strategy of Chicano Studies. This student activity, as portrayed in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, is the main linkage between Chicano Studies and the Chicano community; as well as the primary social basis for an organic relationship between them.

In addition, the political activity of student organizations was also central to the process of students becoming ideologically self-conscious *Chicanos*. In this regard, their political activity was important not only in the sense that one learns by "doing," but also in the sense that one becomes Chicano by "being" one politically.

However, student political initiatives, as such, were *not* the central role of Chicano student organization in the strategy elaborated by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*. The central role of Chicano student organizations was as a student "training ground" for politically organizing and being politically organized after their university experience. That is, in El *Plan de Santa Bárbara*, Chicano student organization is central to the larger

Chicano Studies strategy for socially constructing a *community based class* of ideologically self-conscious Chicanos. In this sense, the political activity of Chicano student organizations must be seen as an integral part of this long-range goal of Chicano Studies. In *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* this political activity is a "training ground" for the post-graduate organization of university educated and politically self-conscious Chicanos.

In the political strategy of Chicano Studies it is these Chicanos who *infuse the community* with a historical consciousness of their cultural identity. Through their *post-graduate roles* in the institutional structures of society they organize the social construction of the cultural identity that conditions an on-going Chicano Movement struggle for social liberation.

Conclusion

Is Chicano Studies political? If so, how and why? For Chicano Studies, this is a contemporary question, although it is one that has been making itself, ideologically, for some time.[27] At the historical moment of Chicano Studies' formation, this was not an issue. At that point in history, Chicano Studies was self-consciously ideological.[28]

This article has been an interpretative elaboration of the political meaning of that self-conscious ideology of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies. It is put forward as a proposal for a re-politicization of Chicano Studies.

This piece argues that the political orientation of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies is rooted in a revolutionary epistemological notion about History. In the context of that notion how one conceptualizes the Chicano historical experience *is ideological*. For this reason, a social theory about that historical experience becomes the basis for a political strategy of Chicano Studies.

The linking of History and ideology in Chicano Movement Chicano Studies was the ideological role of internal colonial theory. This linkage was also the basis for the political conception of Chicano Studies that galvanized and organized the scholar/activists that made Chicano Studies a reality as Social Science.

In conclusion, it is worthwhile to conjecture, theoretically, about the political meaning of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies in 1999. This will be done by bringing forward to 1999 the implicit foundational political question of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies. That is, what does society's hegemonic ideology politically accomplish through its dominance of Social Science?[29]

In 1999 as in 1969 this hegemony over Social Science serves the process of conditioning the formation of a social base among the "intelligentsia."

Who are these intelligentsia? Why is a social base among them politically important (necessary) for the dominant ideology?
Among some of the more significant constituencies of the intelligentsia are, as a social strata, politicians and legal professionals; visual, oral, and written media journalists; professionals of the visual, oral, and written arts; the teachers of higher, secondary, and primary education and the researchers of higher education; the "officialdom" and organizers of the trade unions and other workplace organizations and associations; the administrators and organizers of civic and issue advocacy organizations and associations; and the administrators of institutions of government and other societal infrastructure.[30] A focal point of Gramsci's theory about the role of intellectuals is that they are the *social base* for the "consent" of "civil society" in liberal democracies to the rule of the dominant ideology. That is, a hegemonic social base among these intelligentsia is necessary to maintain the existing social formation including its hierarchies of race, class, and gender through political processes that are non-coerced and non-violent.

In this view an intelligentsia characterized by political accomodationism is a central mechanism for maintaining stability to the race, class, and gender hierarchies of the dominant social order. This conception of the intelligentsia further implies that a counterhegemonic vision of societ–one based in notions of equality, cooperation, and democratic participation–cannot mobilize/organize itself into a counterhegemonic social movement without developing its own *organized* and ideologically self-conscious base in that social strata.

Brought forward to 1999, Chicano Movement Chicano Studies is a political strategy for establishing a social base among the Chicano intelligensia. It is a strategy based in the idea that a *necessary condition* of Chicano Movement politics is an organized challenge to the dominant ideology's hegemony over this social strata. This idea makes the struggle for hegemony over the Chicano intelligentsia a strategic political problem for Chicano Movement politics. This challenge to the dominant ideology's hegemony over the Chicano intelligentsia was the political meaning of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies in 1969. This is the political meaning of Chicano Movement Chicano Studies in 1999.

Notes

1. For analysis and commentary on this relationship, see: Contreras 1993, 1997; Gómez-Quiñones 1974, 1978, 1990; Muñoz 1983, 1994, 1989; Núñez and Contreras 1989; and Padilla 1974. These citations address the political character of the relationship between the Chicano Movement and Chicano Studies. For exemplars of the initial effort by Chicano Studies to articulate the political character of its relationship to the Chicano

Movement., also see: Rocco (1970) and Muñoz (1970).

2. This is the argument in the article "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science and 'Self-Conscious' Ideology" (Contreras 1997). It was also central to the thesis of my dissertation (Contreras 1993). The argument uses the term "Social Science" to encompass that which is usually categorized under various "disciplinary" divisions of and within social science, history, and the arts and humanities. The term is capitalized in this article when it is used in this broad and inclusive manner.
3. See: Immanuel Wallerstein (1986: 15; 1991). This point is developed in "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science and 'Self-Conscious' Ideology" (Contreras 1997).
4. The citation for this work is: Chicano Coordinating Council for Higher Education (1969).
5. This is a point developed in my dissertation (Contreras 1993). There, I do a fairly comprehensive analysis of theory of ideology and then examine *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* as an expression of ideology. This argument is developed in "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science and 'Self-Conscious' Ideology" (Contreras 1997).
6. For example, see: the comments about *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, and its role, by Muñoz (1983, 1984, and 1989) and Gómez-Quiñones (1974), who were both prominent scholar/activists in the political movement to institutionalize Chicano academic programs in California higher education. Also Núñez and Contreras point to *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* as an elaboration of the "political foundations" for Chicano Studies (Núñez and Contreras 1992). Muñoz emphasizes *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s limitations in terms of providing a definition for Chicano Studies. In concrete terms, he writes that it should not be considered a final document. He nonetheless writes favorably of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* as providing a general analytical framework for the development of Chicano Studies that reflects the politics of the 1960s Chicano Movement social activism-in this sense a document of substantial historical value (Muñoz 1984). The 1974 piece by Gómez Quiñones is partially a response (and defense) to critics of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s practical viability as a master plan for Chicano higher education. Also, The National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies (NACCS), still the most prominent academic association of Chicano Studies, traces its origin to the Santa Bárbara conference and *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* and periodically makes public reference about it. See the appendix to *Perspectivas in Chicano Studies*, the proceedings for NACCS' 1975 national conference, in regards to that organization's relationship to the Santa Bárbara conference (Macías 1977).
7. As indicated in note #2, implicit in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*'s notion of Social Science is that which is normally divided up into the disciplines of social science (sociology, political science, economics, etc.), history, and the arts and humanities.
8. See: "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science *and* self-conscious Ideology" (Contreras 1997).
9. *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* is organized into seven sections plus an introductory manifesto, selected bibliography, and appendices (Chicano Coordinating Council for Higher Education 1969). The instrumental relationship of Chicano Studies to the Chicano Movement is unambiguously apparent throughout the document. In my dissertation I generalized this relationship as one of political strategy of the Chicano Movement (Contreras 1993: 380-390). While they do not categorize it as a political strategy, both Gómez-Quiñones (1974, 1978) and Muñoz (1983, 1984, 1989) emphasize the political nature and orientation of the relationship between Chicano Studies and the Chicano Movement in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*.
10. A general descriptive analysis of this political strategy is made at toward the end of this article.
11. Close reading of these Chicano Studies scholar/activists reveals differences in their analyses, assessments, and evaluations of the Chicano Movement. However, these differences are not relevant at the level of generality sufficient for this essay's concept of the Chicano Movement. For historical analyses/evaluations of the Chicano Movement

by academics in Chicano Studies that would undermine this essay's argument, see: Gutiérrez (1993), Saragosa (1988-1990), and Almaguer (1987).

12. This characterization is made by Acuña (1988: 366). It is interpreted in terms of Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony (Gramsci 1971). In Gramsci's work a ruling class imposes its worldview and economic, political, and cultural forms through its dominant, directing, role within a *coalition* of social forces, a "historical bloc" that exercises hegemony over society. In Gramsci's theory social revolution implied the social construction of a counterhegemonic historical bloc. In characterizing the Chicano Movement as a counterhegemonic force, Acuña was placing it in a historical context of 1960s social movements that together projected a revolutionary worldview and alternative economic, political, and cultural forms for American society. Later, I will conceptualize this counterhegemony implied by the 1960s social movements, in which the Chicano Movement was a force, as anti-colonialism.
13. In my dissertation I analytically summarized theory about the concept of ideology (Contreras 1993: 67-154). I then examined and evaluated internal colonial theory, not as "theory," but as an expression of ideology (Contreras 1993: 268-284). I will summarize that ideological analysis of internal colonial theory below.
14. There was no single commonly recognized Chicano internal colonial theory. More accurately, there was a framework of internal colonialism through which Chicano intellectuals were structuring their analyses of the historical and contemporary Chicano experience. For some of the more significant early attempts to elaborate theoretically a colonialist analytical framework for the Chicano experience, see: Almaguer (1971); Blauner (1969, 1972); Barrera, Muñoz, and Ornelas (1972); Flores (1973); and Moore (1970). Acuña's first edition of *Occupied America* in 1972 was a comprehensive portrayal of Chicano history as internal colonialism. The most theoretically developed analysis of Chicano history as "internal colonialism" is Barrera's *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979). Alfredo Mirandé's *The Chicano Experience* (1985) also makes a general examination of "Chicano culture and experience" in terms of an internal colonial framework.
15. In my reading of Acuña, Gómez-Quiñones, and Muñoz they would not disagree with a characterization of the Chicano Movement as anti-colonialist in the limited sense that the nationalism and cultural nationalism of the period could be, and at times was, anti-colonialist. I go further, however, in conceptualizing *the* ideology of the Chicano Movement as anti-colonialism (Contreras 1993). I make this assessment in terms of an analytical framework derived from Gramsci's theory of ideological hegemony (Gramsci 1971). In this analytical framework a hegemonic (or counterhegemonic) formation is *internally varied* ideologically, a coalition of ideologies. It is, however, a coalition constructed around, and politically directed by, a hegemonic component. It is the hegemonic component that provides the ideological name for the hegemonic or counterhegemonic formation. My argument is that anti-colonialism is the most valid way of conceptualizing the unifying ideology in the implicit counterhegemonic, and ideologically pluralistic, worldview of the Chicano Movement.
16. Immanuel Wallerstein relates the various forms of "ethnic studies" programs that emerge in American universities in the late 1960s to the "revolution of 1968"-the generation of worldwide social turbulence, led principally by the anti-colonialist movements, that follows World War II.
17. For an excellent work that analytically summarizes the history and theory of ideology, see: Terry Eagleton's (1991) *Ideology: An Introduction.*
18. Writing in the mid 1970s about the political movements of the social movement period, Vernon Van Dyck, a liberal political theorist, elaborated upon the limitations of liberalism as a political theory in relation to the problems and issues of ethnic communities (Van Dyck 1977: 343-369). Specifically, he pointed out how liberalism ignores (in my imagery, the inability to "see" a people's moral right to self-determination. More recently, Bowles and Gintis make an inspiring defense of liberalism's theoretical

possibilities as a liberatory ideology. Nonetheless, they acknowledge that historically liberalism has been found to be theoretically wanting in relation to the social issue concerns of racial minorities (and others as well) (Bowles and Gintis 1986: 12). While they ultimately defend liberalism, it is fair to say that their defense acknowledges that historically liberals and liberal ideology have been complicit in, if not self-conscious advocates of, capitalism's historical suppression of various peoples' cultural identity.

19. There is an extensively documented critique of Marxism in relation to issues of race and nation. For example, see: Horace Davis (1978) and Walker Conner (1984). Their critique generally focuses on the tendency of Marxism to reduce issues of race and nation to their economic and class basis. I analyze this critique in relation to Chicano Studies in my dissertation (Contreras 1993).
20. For an early and concise expression of this view about the origin of Chicano Studies, see: Rocco (1970). For a recent analysis of how Chicano Studies, as Social Science, emerges by way of opposition to traditional Social Science perspectives on the Mexican American, see Contreras (1997).
21. On Romano's fundamental role in the intellectual development of Chicano Studies, see: Contreras (1993; 1997), Muñoz (1989), Olguín (1991), and García (1992). His academic peers, the scholar/activists who were then developing Chicano Studies, acknowledged Romano's intellectual role (Rocco 1970).
22. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Robert Blauner was a University of California academic closely identified with the emergence of "internal colonialism" as a theoretical perspective for understanding the racial conflict of the period (Blauner 1969, 1972). Through his position as a sociologist on the Berkeley campus he had a direct influence on some of the Chicano academics/political activists most closely identified with Chicano internal colonialism.
23. Frantz Fanon was widely read by 1960s social movement activists attempting to link racial protest in the United States to Third World anti-colonialist movements. For example, Muñoz makes a point about noting the influence of Fanon on early Chicano Studies activists (Muñoz 1983).
24. In his reference to the influence of Fanon on early Chicano Studies, Muñoz includes him with other third-world revolutionary intellectuals/activists like Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral, and Albert Memmi. One thing held in common by the various political arguments of these revolutionary intellectuals was the idea that the (historical) culture of the colonially oppressed is ideological.
25. There is a day-to-day institutional reality to life as university faculty, administrators, staff, and students that puts constraints and limits, of a more or less nature, on the *individual* capacity to be involved in the community. It is as an institution and as an organization that Chicano Studies must be involved in supporting and developing Chicano Movement community organizations and political activity.
26. In terms of this article's image of the political role of Chicano Studies, this third process is above all in its explicit expression of the idea that Chicano Studies is not only a teacher, but it must also be a political organizer and self-organizer of Chicano cultural identity.
27. In the proceedings of the 1989 National Conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS), Núñez and Contreras argue that Chicano Studies is characterized by a doubt about the political vision expressed by *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*. In the same volume Hisauro Garza argues that NACS, the national organization of Chicano Studies, has de-politicized. More recently, in 1995 the theme for a MEChA statewide conference in California was "Taking Back Chicano Studies." The idea was that Chicano Studies had lost its community and political orientation.
28. See: Contreras 1997.
29. This analysis is based theoretically on my interpretation of an intersection in the ideas of Antonio Gramsci on the political role of intellectuals (1971) and of Franz Fanon on the political role of the colonized intellectual/artist (1963).

30. This description of the contemporary intelligentsia is based on Gramsci's analysis of intellectuals as a social group (Gramsci 1971: 97).

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Frijoles, Sushi, and Chittlins on a Bagel: Trivializing Ethnic Studies Through Politically Correct and Racist Educational Practice

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In today's United States (US) educational environment much talk is given to planning for and the teaching of "politically correct cultural diversity." While some see this as a blessing, others see it as a waste of time. There is a school of educators that view "politically correct cultural diversity" as a panacea to racial and ethnic unrest in today's schools and society at large. Some see this academic emphasis as form of "polite institutionalized racism." Another equally vocal group of educators present "politically correct cultural diversity" as divisive and destructive of the "American way of life." While the discourse created by these polar perspectives has generated many scholarly articles, there has been little evolution and actual institutionalization of non-mainstream cultural points of view into the curriculum. This reality holds true from pre-school to post-doctoral work.

The research effort that has generated this paper started four years ago (1992) when students at San José State University (SJSU) once again demanded that all students graduating from SJSU take three units of upper division course work in ethnic studies as part of their degree. The students further demanded that this class examine racism as it occurs in contemporary US society, the history of race relations in the US, and the relationship between racism and sexism in the US. No undergraduate student seeking a degree at SJSU will be exempted from the course.

This was the tenth time since 1968 that students at SJSU have formally made this demand. The first time the demand was formally

expressed was part of a Chicano student walkout of the SJSU sponsored commencement. At this time, the graduating Chicano/a seniors publically stated that no course in the SJSU curriculum directly related academically to the development of Chicano/a communities. Yet, these communities were rapidly becoming the largest minority in the service area of the university. Each time the demand has been made since 1968, the university has either outright refused to do more than "study the situation," or proposed an alternative that was so "watered down" that all who actually took or gave the classes found them a "waste of time."

Meanwhile, "racial incidents" continued to occur on campus. "White flight" from the campus is a reality, especially among Anglo-European males. Racial relations between groups of color, as well as between minorities and Anglo-Europeans continued to deteriorate. To counter this, five years ago the SJSU instituted "cultural pluralism" classes. For many of the students, these classes were regarded as "holiday studies" and "ethnic history days." Minority students noted that "white students" sought out "safe, trivialized" classes from white teachers to satisfy the requirement, while students of color enrolled in classes with minority faculty.

As part of an effort to address these experiences, this paper examines the realities and general trends that support the racist trivialization of ethnic and racial groups. This examination will be placed in the context of the current round of negotiations to create an ethnic studies graduation requirement at San José State University. In addition, this paper will list the objectives for a course designed to meet an ethnic studies graduation requirement. These objectives are designed to insure that this requirement will deliver a curriculum that is more than a scattering of frijoles, chittlins and sushi on a bagel.

In order to examine general trends that did more than put new labels on old bottles and did not trivialize their heritage, faculty and students of color sought goals for classes by asking the following questions:

1. Can "minority" and/or ethnic points of view and the perspectives they generate be expressed authentically within the pluralistic model?
2. What are the curricular processes necessary for expressing "minority" and/or ethnic points of view and perspectives?
3. Does the concept of "diversity" as well as the policies upon this concept serve the curricular needs of "minority" and/or ethnic communities?

As the discussion of these questions evolved, those participating in the San Jose State Ethnic Studies Task Force, as the group came to be called, found that during the last three to five years much "lip service" has been paid to insuring that "minorities" and their perspectives are represented in the process of policy making and instruction. Much of this representation has occurred in an "advisory capacity" with no actual policy

making power. Even this level of participation has been driven for the most part by the changing demography of the US (Ruscioletti 1994).

At the same time, much attention has been given insuring politically correct language and program (Carpenter 1994). The most commonly used buzzwords to come out of these politically correct cultural ideologies are "diversity" and "multi-cultural strategies." These terms allow for "minorities" to anticipate an "equitable" and theoretically attainable common ground with the dominant groups of the society while "decentering" the dominant cultural focus (Ruscioletti 1994). In addition, this promise is supported by unidirectional, assimilation based, "pluralistic" criteria that has found its way into the policies of governmental bureaucracies as well as finding favor with the academic keepers of scholarly disciplines (Bryant 1994).

The "lip service" trend has led to the strategic societal reality of "multicultural diversity," supported by the notion that "one is many" and "many is one," with each phrase being the euphemism of the other (Brydon and Scott 1994). Often the users of this strategy forget or are unaware that these notions mean different things in different cultural contexts. This lack of memory aside, this strategic reality trend has become the rationalized response to changing cultural demographics and educational priorities (Greene 1993). Moreover, this rationalization suggests the policy question of whose rights have the greatest value: the unvoiced minorities, or the voiced dominant groups?

Educational researchers have also used "multicultural diversity" as a methodology to make the "minority" over into the image of the dominant society. This is an educational process that supports a racist styled form of assimilation (Sleeter 1993). These same researchers look to assimilation as a solution to the threat of "fragmenting diversity," and then prevent the assimilation process by assaulting and eliminating cross-cultural acculturation (West 1990). This mutes the minority position at best and more often silences it. From this point on in the process of "multicultural education," the dominant group is left only with its opinion of the minority group as if that opinion was the position of the minority group. Ethnic Studies, in this context, is viewed as a fragmenting threat to the homogeneous position, for by its very nature, Ethnic Studies is a culturally mixed, cross cultural discipline. The trap that ethnic researchers and educators may fall into in the multicultural setting is to try and out-"white" the dominant group in its presentation of the cross-cultural setting.

For the overall reality, academicians often couch this racist, ethnocidal dysfunction in the question, "How far can the rights and freedom of the 'minority individual' be extended and still allow for the 'greatest good for the dominant group'?" The reverse of this question also compounds the issues at hand, "How can the 'dominant group' be maintained without

infringing upon the rights of 'minority individuals' within the group?" Neither of these policy questions helps the academicians gain a perspective (Banks 1993). At best, these questions produce only a point of view. Often they focus upon blaming the victim (Ryan 1992). Thus, minority students in a typical Eurocentric college classroom are not given "opportunities to create knowledge themselves and identify ways in which the knowledge they construct is influenced and limited by their personal assumptions, positions, and experiences" (Banks 1993: 11). For this reason, neither the controlled nor the controllers have a perspective.

Further analysis of the literature on this topic reveals that the question goes far beyond euphemisms such as right and wrong or patriotism as in "love your country, right or wrong." When working with the multiple points of view that occur in large populations with diverse origins and perspectives, the question becomes a series of multiple points of view that use "right" and "wrong" as part of a perspectivistic give and take (McCarthy 1994). From each group's point of view, they are right, nevertheless, it is the wrong in the equation that makes them right. For example, perspectivistically speaking, one would be many and many would be one: acculturation rather than assimilation. Without the point of view of "right" and the point of view of "wrong" there is no perspective.

In another strategic trend, the concept of "diversity" as well as the policies based upon this concept are not designed to meet the curricular needs of "minority" and/or ethnic communities. At first glance the incorporation of "diversity" appears to be an alternative to the "romantic" styled presentations of pluralism teaching strategies. But, if the questions are asked, "diverse to what and from what," the educator and policy setter are stuck with the alternative of "homogeneity" (Crichlow *et al.* 1990). Phrases like "one out of many," "many from one," and "many as one" allude to the "diverse/homogeneous" point of view. In this setting while there is expected diversity between cultures separated by geographical distance, "diversity" within a given culture is often not stated. In addition, this concept often masks attempts to recognize perspectivistic elements. While the term "diversity" allows "minorities" to anticipate an "equitable" and theoretically attainable common ground with the dominant groups of the society, actual historical experience has demonstrated that this promise is often an empty one (Janzen 1994). Instead of a two-way cultural exchange based upon the notion of diverse cultures being equal to all cultures in terms of the unity of their own cultural system, current policy and curriculum has been limited to a one-way cultural indoctrination of the "minority" group by the dominant group. This is done from the dominant group's point of view, with the justification that selected "politically correct" items from the "diverse minority" are included as part of the indoctrination (Estrada and McLaren 1993).

According to Schaefer, "In the United States assimilation is encouraged by dominant White Society. The assimilationist perspective tends to devalue alien culture and treasure the dominant" (Schaefer 1990: 43). This reality, which is supported by the notions of "diversity" and "cultural pluralism," is especially repugnant to Chicanos and Amerindians who consider themselves as indigenous peoples to this space. In moving away from the concept of "diversity" as indoctrination of minorities to the dominant cultural perspective, methods for recognizing the position of the points of view in the expressed perspective need to be examined (Sleeter 1992).

Other educational planners argue about "diversity" and "multiple points of view" in the framework of right and wrong. They see homogeneity of thought and "national purpose" as a single voice. Moreover, they view the current dominant voice as the "right voice" and "inoffensive." Those points of view not in sync with the "right voice" are classed as "offensive": "ethnic, minority, dissonant, separatist, not in the national interest, reverse racist, and/or unpatriotic." The politically correct "right voice" couches the offensive terms in euphemistic phrases to avoid confrontation and change. For this reason the problem becomes two-fold. While the policy setters and academicians do not hold a perspective, they are also avoiding all other points of view that are necessary to gain a perspective. Thus, they create, "false images or stereotypes that become real in their consequences" (Schaefer 1990: 9).

In addition, the trends involving the concept of "diversity" are evolving out of the reality that "diversity" is often being used as a code word for "minority," "ethnic," "racial," and/or "different." In the literature the term "diversity" is appearing synonymous with "divergent," or to "diverge." It is also being used as a place holder for divergence in the context of being "less than." In this context, "white" is seen as "normal" or "non-divergent" and all else is seen as "diverse" or "less-than normal" or even "abnormal." The argument within this trend becomes further extended when "what is white or European" is equated with what is "human." Therefore, those associated with "diversity" (people of color) are considered as less than human. Thus, "diversity" has become an institutionalized, racist code word for the study of "those people" who are considered less than human. This is an unmasking of a "politically correct" reality designed to trivialize the cultures of people of color and institutionalize them into permanent positions of subordination through the formal educational process.

Instead of developing ways to lump a variety of groups into "world class, trivialized, mass cultures," minority curriculum developers and educators need to research those processes that focus on how the learner in a cross-cultural setting can best discover the underlying elements of each specific culture. Therefore, to most minority researchers, what many

"traditional" educational planners are doing is creating new labels for old curricular strategies to maintain the educational advantage of the current dominant group (Martínez 1996). These tactical strategies are designed to secure the dominant group's homogeneous point of view, for the near future when it loses the numerical majority (Estrada and McLaren 1993). These same researchers also point out that where the pluralistic methodology of muting the educational and learning strategies of "minority groups" exists, the long run loss of human resources for the total society far outweighs the short run gain made by the dominant group (Pérez 1993). All of the above listed trends will continue until a consistent and conscious effort by minority academicians and communities is employed to reverse them.

The first step in reversing the racially motivated trivialization process is to positively include the minority view point in the curriculum development activities. The San Jose State Ethnic Studies Task Force defined viewpoint and/or point of view as a position on a certain question held by an individual or cultural group that reveals how and why that individual or group has shaped its beliefs, attitudes and/or values. In this sense the point of view is that part of the environment that humans have created. A cultural view point can only be preserved as a viewpoint if the point of view is permitted intergenerational transmission (Mercer and Wanderer 1974).

The second step to reversing the trivialization process is to clarify the perspective of the dominant society. The Task Force defined perspective as a position held by an individual or cultural group of a belief, attitude or value about how "another" group or individual formed and held their beliefs, attitudes or values. The perspectivistic strategy can be extended to comparing one cultural group's responses to their environment with another set of responses in the same manner.

The third step in the reversal is to establish an evaluative curricular process for balancing the dominant society's perspective with the reality of any given minority culture's point of view without trivializing the minority's culture. In the words of Lu Min-Zhan:

> Seemingly simple markers such as skin color, native tongue, ethnic heritage or nationality can neither prescribe nor pre-script the range of voices likely to surface . . . How to voice and talk to, rather than speaking for and about the voices of the "other" within and among cultures, is thus not a question which can be resolved prior to or outside of the process of negotiation. Rather, it must remain a concern guiding our action as we take part in it (Min-Zhan 1994: 456).

Those involved in the field research of this project at SJSU found that to get at the actual underlying cultural assumptions of an instructional setting, more than one equation had to be analytically applied. For the

ethnic studies curriculum designer the patterns voiced and unvoiced in the points of view and perspectives often are the underlying assumptions that "provide maps of what the world is believed to be like. They constitute guidelines for identifying and solving problems" (Cotgrove 1982: 33).

The reality of using multiple analytical equations from a single point of view came to the forefront when the Task Force began researching the appropriate goals for the actual course development and the creation of bibliographic text lists. While the attempt to provide "multiple equations" is laudable, truncating the analysis through racist, institutionalized trivialization defeats the purpose. For example, since 1992, there has been a series of new texts and anthologies aimed at those courses teaching cultural pluralism that have an "Asian" section, a "Hispanic" section, a "Native American" section, a "Gender" section, and an "Afro-American" section. A complete culture, set of cultures, and/or sub-cultures are described historically and topically in forty pages or less, including photographs and graphics. These works have titles like: American Ethnicity; Experiencing Race Class and Gender in the US; Multi-cultural Experiences, Multicultural Theories, or The Meaning of Difference, American Constructions of Race, Social Class, and Sexual Orientation. The actual cultural map and/or identity of a specific group is lost in the process of this type of delivery, but publishers of books are hesitant to publish a work unless all the alleged "major groups" are included. Yet, the cultural richness and the variety of life styles of peoples from the Americas are lost and trivialized in chapters that identify the common "cultural characteristics" of "Indians" and "Hispanics." The same can also be said of the other groups mentioned. At best, many of these works create stereotypes that have some degree of usefulness for the dominant society in its relationships with a generalized and trivialized minority culture. In the words of Richard Schaefer, these texts demonstrate that:

> In the United States cultural pluralism is more of an ideal than a reality. Though there are vestiges of cultural pluralism-in the various ethnic neighborhoods in major cities, for instance-the general rule has been for subordinate groups to assimilate. (Shaefer 1990: 47)

In addition, in the context of politically correct trivialization, diversity and cultural pluralism, the notion of what is a culture and what cultural elements need to be examined, is seen from the point of view of the dominant society. The SJSU Ethnic Studies Task Force documented this point of view with trivialized and generalized examples found in the university curriculum designed to teach "cultural pluralism." The work of the Task Force began to reveal that the social dominance paradigms currently in vogue, control the inflection of the substance by manipulating the perspective of the minority groups through the point of view of the

dominant group. Since the "pluralism teaching strategy" follows "humanism" and the thought patterns of Western Europe, the minority cultures being studied in pluralist classrooms are constantly being ranked and compared to the Anglo/European "cultural standard." Words such as "third-world" (not even second class), "disadvantaged," and "under developed" find constant expression. Thus, while "pluralism" can express the dominant society's perspective on a series of groups, the minority point of view is often muted and/or trivialized. This is compounded by the manipulation of inflection to maintain politically correct vocabulary to mask the negative ethnic and/or racial feelings. Because the manipulated inflection is constantly being changed by the curriculum policies of the dominant group, the ground rules for assimilation by the minority group is also being changed (Ryan 1992).

In classes emphasizing "trivialized differences," the presentation of ethnic groups often emphasize the folk/rural/peasant/traditional culture, which may or may not be the dominant current life way of the groups being studied. To prevent this trivialization through stereotyping, educators might, for example, utilize a strategy where minority group cultures in the US are studied by the analysis of the stereotypes built around urban gangs or migrant farmworkers. Simultaneously, the educator must also supply the culturally based voice and point of view of the minority discourse. Once the underlying element in the stereotypes are revealed, however, it can only be minimally modified, but not replaced. In this way the specific elements retain their inflected forms. For example: "I agree that you are victims of exploitation because you are the beneficiaries of a corrupt welfare system."

If the victims (the receivers of the benefits) agree with this paradigm they are in a no win situation. If the beneficiaries disagree with this paradigm they are also in a no win situation. The dominant tone or inflection creates the no win situation through agreement in the form of the paradigm. By shifting the paradigm to the cultural institution of education, the above paradigm becomes: "I agree that educators in a multicultural setting are victims of exploitation because they are the beneficiaries of a politically correct educational policy."

Since most minority educators are not in positions of dominance, they are not in a position to change the overall curriculum strategy or create new policy. However, by knowing how labels and inflection manipulate point of view and mute the minority voice, the minority educator in a multicultural environment can teach the student how to get out of these no win situations. To this end ethnic studies educators must learn strategies for both no win and win situations in a multicultural setting. This can best be achieved by determining both the actual and hidden priorities for public education without trivializing the cross cultural content

of the student to maintain the politically correct position of the educational form. Without this knowledge the minority educator is caught in the racist trap of chasing dead rabbits as if they were new cross cultural paradigms for the improvement of instruction in a cross-cultural classroom.

To clarify and amplify this assertion, let us look at yet another example of a no win cross-cultural paradigm: "We agree that a native resident is declared a foreigner and the invading alien is considered a citizen."

This paradigm occurred in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico in 1848. When teaching this no win paradigm to the student, the educator must not agree or disagree with the paradigm. In this situation the educator must assist the student's thinking processes to facilitate the rejection of the validity of the paradigm. This is done by teaching the student to recognize the values and disvalues in the paradigm that mute the points of view being expressed. In the case of the native *vs.* citizen paradigm the values are loaded in favor of the dominant society and all the disvalues are loaded against the subdominant group.

The first priority for the student is to identify the contradictions in the value laden labels (Schaefer 1990). The next priority is to identify ironies. The third priority is to identify the paradox. The forth priority is to demonstrate how this process illustrates a no win situation. For the student in an ethnic studies setting, the solution is then to reject the paradox by not agreeing or disagreeing with the paradigm. The overall priority for this process is to get the student to think through the process of tacit agreement to a no win paradigm.

Thus, to limit or prevent racist trivialization the ethnic studies curriculum developer must, as a first step, produce cross-cultural relationships by combining the concepts of: (1) direct relationships and (2) inverse relationships. These relationships go beyond Eurocentric analysis by examining the level of flexibility in the reality of a cross-cultural paradigm. Examples for the examination of direct relationships in this context are:

1. More inflexibility leads to more limited cross-cultural relationships.
2. Less flexibility leads to less limited cross-cultural relationships.

Examples of inverse relationships in this paradigm are:

1. Less flexibility leads to more limited cross-cultural relationships.
2. More inflexibility leads to less limited cross-cultural relationships.

The second step to the prevention and/or limitation of racist trivialization is to identify the combinations that lead to concept formation

and critical thinking in the cross cultural setting. For the minority curriculum developer, this process is one where the most limited cultural means/results leads to concept formation and the least limited cultural means/results leads to critical thinking.

The third step in preventing and/or limiting racist trivalization, is to find out which are the controlling relationships of the cross-cultural setting. To do this, the ethnic studies curriculum developer must read the policy and priorities for a given academic setting to determine the desired direction and desired effect of the curriculum. At this point the minority educator must shift from conceptual formative thinking to strategic interpretive thinking. However, if values or disvalues are added to the desired effects, then the educator will be employing strategic critical thinking. By knowing this, the ethnic studies educator is in a position to employ an infinite set of cross-cultural combinations to instruct the student without the risk of cultural trivialization.

Utilizing the three-step process described above the SJSU Ethnic Studies Task Force developed the following set of goals and objectives to assess a given course's ability to meet the needs of students. In addition, through a four-year series of campus climate surveys and open hearings, we found that an ethnic studies course that would be directed towards a graduation requirement for all students at SJSU would have to meet the following goals, objectives and requirements:

A. Goals:

1. To develop an understanding of racism, of groups historically oppressed in the United States of America on the basis of race, and of this history's effects on contemporary society.
2. To begin thereby the processes of breaking down racial barriers, creating bridges of communication, and building community at San José State University.
3. In turn, to equip students with problem-solving skills which address the impact of racism in the USA.

B. Objectives:

After completing an Ethnic Studies course, students should be able:

1. To understand theories concerning the nature and causes of racism.
2. To describe the history or a significant aspect of the history of at least one of the historically racially oppressed peoples.
3. To recognize and evaluate the implications of racial oppression in contemporary society.

4. To examine perceptions, prejudices, propaganda, myths and stereotypes regarding racial groups.
5. To analyze and compare conflicting interpretations of facts and statistics concerning the effects of racism on various groups.
6. To formulate and/or evaluate solutions to racism.
7. To articulate perspectives learned through intellectual and social interaction with people of diverse economic, political, and ethnic backgrounds.
8. To identify the difference in impact of racism on people according to their class, gender and sexual orientation.

C. Course Requirements:

1. Each Ethnic Studies course must focus primarily on a group or groups of people who have been historically and systematically oppressed in the United States of America on the basis of their color (such as African-Americans, Chicanos [Mexican-Americans], Asian-Americans or Native-Americans).
2. It must examine the group's (groups') oppression, resistance, struggles, contributions and achievements to provide a deeper understanding of these cultures and how they have shaped the United States' cultures in general.
3. Through various activities, each ethnic studies course will provide students with some opportunity to interact directly with people of diverse economic, political and ethnic backgrounds.

The process of coming to consensus regarding criteria for an ethnic studies requirement ultimately provided the members of the Task Force with an opportunity for precisely the kind of untrivialized, cross-cultural, interactive and productive exchange of ideas and of values that an ethnic studies requirement should give to students. The discussion, which was at times lively and even heated, led to mutual understanding for every member of the Task Force. Each of us came away with the conviction that he/she had both learned and grown from the experience. It is unfortunate that more members of the San José State University faculty, staff and student body have not had such an opportunity.

In summary, this paper supports the notion that "minority" and/or ethnic points of view and the perspectives they generate are not expressed authentically within a trivialized "pluralistic model." Furthermore, the concept of "diversity" as well as the politically correct policies built upon this concept do not serve the curricular needs of "minority" and/or ethnic communities. In addition, the findings of this article reveal that in the creation of criteria and paradigms aimed at the voicing of multiple points

of view, the prevention of racist trivialization, and the production of quality cross-cultural content and teaching techniques, the educator must remember that cross-cultural paradigms do not exist unless they are combined strategically through the control of cultural values and disvalues. These cultural values and disvalues must be equitably expressed in terms of their specified point of view and specific environmental setting. The development of cross-cultural educational paradigms, is necessary to discover the controlling relationships at different levels of the cross-cultural instructional process: bi-conceptual development and critical thinking.

Assuming that educators are willing to engage in mutual accommodation in meeting the needs of their students (Nieto 1992), and by utilizing the processes documented in this paper, they will be in a position to employ infinite sets of unmuted cross-cultural combinations while minimizing the process of racist, politically correct trivilization.

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The Benefits of Bilingualism and the Flaws of the Bilingual Education System

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> It [is] absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving [a student's] native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate.
> President Reagan (Crawford 1989: 43)

> We know that native language supports-rather than retards-English acquisition, and that quality bilingual programs can help students meet high standards and cultivate valuable language skills.
> James Crawford (Crawford 1997: 51)

> Bilingual children have certain advantages that monolingual children do not have, one of the most important being cognitive flexibility or divergent thinking.
> Kenji Hakuta (1986:1)

Opponents of bilingual education believe that students who are taught in their native language and English will be handicapped because bilingual education programs cause students to suffer cognitive retardation. As a result, they have proposed mandates such as English-only to make English the official language of the United States (US) and prohibit bilingual education.[1] However, it has been proven that bilingualism does not handicap individuals but it, in fact, increases cognitive abilities (Crawford 1997: 2; Hakuta 1986: 1). As a result, bilingual education can prove to be beneficial to individuals if it can properly teach

students to be proficient in their native language and English. But as a result of the different implementations of bilingual programs across the nation and the different social and educational backgrounds of Latino students, they have not all benefitted equally from bilingual education programs. For example, students who are fortunate to have the social status and the right bilingual program to achieve fluency in Spanish and English benefit immensely. On the other hand, Latino students who do not have the social background and the appropriate bilingual program to attain fluency in Spanish and English suffer because they do not have the proper skills to function in society. The solution to the inadequacy of the bilingual education system is not to end it but to address its flaws and the outside factors that plague its effectiveness.

I. Historical Background

Bilingual education broadly defined is any "education program that involves the use of two languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career" (Nieto1992:156). The arrival of Cubans to Miami during the 1960s re-introduced bilingual education to the educational system of the United States. For example, the Coral Way Elementary School implemented a bilingual program that included trained Cuban teachers to preserve the Spanish language in the Cuban children (Ovando 1985).

In 1968, Congress under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Educational Act passed the first federal legislation supporting bilingual education. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 recognized the needs of children of limited English proficiency, prohibited their segregation and mandated that communities select the bilingual program that best suited their needs. The goal of the Bilingual Education Act was to increase English skills; maintain and perhaps increase native language; and support the cultural heritage of the student. The Act specified that services had to be provided to children who came from families with incomes below $3,000 per year but it was later expanded to include all children with limited English speaking abilities (LES) and children with limited English proficiency (LEP) (Ovando 1985: 25-28).

One of the flaws of the Bilingual Educational Act of 1968 was that it lacked a rigid structure. For example, it failed to stipulate the number of years a student should be taught in his native language and whether the native language should be used as a transition to English or be maintained as a valued personal asset. As a result, school districts across the country could interpret the Bilingual Education Act to varying degrees even though they were all federally funded.

The Congress failure to adopt adequate laws to implement bilingual education programs led to the 1974 Supreme Court decision in *Lau vs.*

Nichols (Crawford 1989: 35). The Supreme Court held that the San Francisco school system's failure to provide students of Chinese ancestry English language instruction or other adequate instructional procedures denied such students the opportunity to participate in the public educational program in violation of Section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1962. The weakness of this and other Supreme Court decisions was that it only had an impact in specific school districts.

In 1975, the Secretary of Education, Terry Bell, authored the Lau Remedies. The Lau Remedies led to the implementation of stricter guidelines regulating bilingual education programs across the country, something Supreme Court decisions had not been able to accomplish (Crawford 1989). The Lau Remedies included the following guidelines: first, the remedies explained how to recognize and assess students with limited English proficiency. Secondly, the remedies stated the criteria to be used when determining whether a student was ready to be mainstreamed into a regular English speaking classroom. Lastly, bilingual education was mandated for elementary students who had suffered from lack of supplemental instruction but it was not required for secondary students. The primary reason was because secondary students possessed a "larger knowledge base" in their native language, which they could transfer to a second language (Crawford 1989). It is important to note that the Lau Remedies failed to specify how school planners would incorporate the language and the culture of minority students into the school curriculum.

In 1978, a re-authorization of the Bilingual Education Act was passed. The re-authorization clarified the Act's goals. First, a student's native language would be used to the extent necessary to allow the student to achieve competence in the English language. As a result, Title VII programs would be strictly transitional and no funds would be provided for language maintenance. Secondly, eligibility was expanded to all children of limited English proficiency. These were students who needed help with reading and writing even though their speaking skills seemed adequate. Lastly, the re-authorization addressed the problem of national origin desegregation by allowing up to 40 percent enrollment of English speaking children in bilingual programs as a way to assist LEP students in learning English (Crawford 1989: 40-1).

In the 1980s, the US was swept by a xenophobic intolerance to other languages. President Reagan, an opponent of bilingual education, eliminated thirty-three million dollars from the bilingual education budget during the early years of his administration (Cohen 1984). In 1984, the Office of Civil Rights relaxed its monitoring of school districts to assess their compliance with *Lau vs. Nichols* (Brisk 1998: 10). Secondly, the re-authorization of Title VII in 1984 included program options that did not

require the use of a student's native language (Brisk 1998: 11). Thirdly, four percent of Chapter VII funds could be used for English-only methods of instruction. Lastly, the National Association of Bilingual Education received an "insignificant allocation" to experiment with maintenance programs of bilingual education (Crawford 1989: 44).

Bilingual education programs were furthered weakened in 1988 when President Reagan signed an act which allocated twenty-five percent of Chapter VII funding to English-only (Brisk 1998: 11). This signified that eighteen million dollars was diverted from bilingual methods of instruction to English-only (Crawford 1989).

In the 1990s, the Clinton administration has supported bilingual education, but Congress has passed legislation, which weakened further bilingual education programs. Between 1994 and 1996, Title VII appropriations were reduced by 38 percent. This reduction in funds forced deep cuts in grants for instructional programs, terminating aid for teacher training, and reducing the budget for research, evaluation and other support services (Crawford 1997: 14). In 1996, the Clinton Administration denounced California's adoption of Proposition 227, which required students with limited English proficiency to complete a one-year English immersion course prior to being placed in regular classes[2].

The current anti-bilingual education sentimentality is complex. Opponents of bilingual education claim that students who are enrolled in this type of program will suffer cognitive retardation, and legislators in the past few years have reduced Title VII funds for bilingual education programs. However, opponents of bilingual education do not oppose foreign language programs for English speakers. In addition, states like New York and Massachusetts have enacted laws mandating foreign language education programs or proficiency in a foreign language as a requirement for graduation (Met and Galloway 1992). Many of these programs are supported by Title VII funds and continue to gain support since they are regarded as "crucial in educating students for a global economy" (Brisk 1998: 12). As a result, it appears the current trend in the US is that "English speakers are encouraged to learn languages [such as Spanish] and Spanish speakers are forced to forget it" (Brisk: 1998: 13; García 1991: 178-80).[3]

II. Assumptions and Evidence

There are conservative leaders and educators who label bilingualism as a handicap to children. The idea of bilingualism being a handicap is based on the "balanced hypothesis." The hypothesis claims that human beings have a potential, or perhaps neural and physiological capacity for language reaming. If an individual learns more than one language he is

likely to be deficient in one of them because proficiency in more than one language means fewer skills in the other one (Paradis 1978: 101-2). As a result, conservative leaders and educators have argued that Latino children do poorly in school because they are taught in both English and Spanish. However, no studies have shown that bilingualism *per se* is to blame for the poor performance of students (Krashen 1997).[4] In fact, there are case studies that have shown that what affects bilingual children performance in school is "how and to what extent and under what conditions the two languages are taught" (Spolsky 1972).

A. Conducting Studies of Bilingual Education Programs

When bilingual education programs were first evaluated, many studies indicated that bilingual education was responsible for students' deficiencies and handicaps (García 1991: 174-5). The negative findings of these earlier studies can be explained by their flawed methodology.[5] For example, earlier studies failed to match bilingual and monolingual learners on demographic variables; relied on child's surname as the indication of bilingualism; and attributed pre-school retardation to the use of two languages (Soto 1997: 2-3).

In 1962, Pearl and Lambert conducted a study whose results contradicted findings of earlier bilingual education studies. They reported that bilingual children performed better than monolingual children in a series of cognitive tests, when sex, age, and socioeconomic status are appropriately controlled. Pearl and Lambert concluded that earlier negative findings were a result of the failure to differentiate between various degrees of bilingualism and to control for socioeconomic status (García 1991: 175; Hakuta *et al.* 1986). De Avila and Duncan (1981) have conducted continuing studies on bilingualism and cognitive function, controlling proficiency and economic status which have found that bilinguals outperform monolinguals on cognitive flexibility, metalinguistic abilities, piagetian intellectual tasks, and in cognitive perceptual processing.

The evaluation of bilingual education programs has become more refined through the years, but there are unique constraints researchers continue to confront when evaluating bilingual education programs. First, legal and ethical constraints rule out comparisons between bilingual methodologies and no treatment at all–sink or swim instruction–which the Supreme Court outlawed in *Lau vs. Nichols*. Secondly, evaluating a student's progress is difficult because reliable assessment of content knowledge in languages other than English is generally unavailable. As a result, most testing has to be conducted in English (Crawford 1997:7). Lastly, there are many factors that need to be considered simultaneously

when evaluating the efficiency of bilingual education programs. Some of these factors include social class, educational background, the proficiency of students in English, the native language of the student, sex, and age.

B. A Model and Factors Used to Evaluate Bilingual Education Programs

In the past ten years, James Cummins has published a series of influential papers dealing with the language proficiency of bilingual students. One of the models and factors he has presented to illustrate the benefits of bilingual education will be discussed below.

The Threshold Hypothesis

Cummins (1979) argued that there are three threshold levels of linguistic competence in the native language and in the second language which bilingual children must attain to prevent cognitive deficits. In the higher threshold, students are fluent in both languages; in the middle threshold, students are more fluent in one language than the other; and in the lower threshold, students are not fluent in either language (Ovando 1985).

The threshold hypothesis implies that students who are in the lower threshold will experience serious academic difficulties as they progress through the elementary level and encounter increasing cognitive demands, which they cannot meet with their limited linguistic skills (Baral 1987). As a result, Cummins supports the idea that students should remain in long-term bilingual programs so that they can become adequately fluent in English and also in their native language. Being fluent in English and one's native language enhances cognitive ability. According to Baral (1987), most bilingual students fall into the intermediate category. Students in this intermediate category do not experience positive or negative cognitive consequences.

Sociocultural and Affective Factors

Cummins (1982, 1981, 1980) has pointed out that linguistic arguments alone cannot explain why some students in bilingual education programs succeed and others experience difficulty. He has argued that minority groups may experience bicultural ambivalence. This occurs when students feel insecure or ashamed of their native language and culture. There is evidence that indicates students' feelings of ambivalence results in low motivation to succeed in school and to attain language proficiency (Baral 1987). As a result, Cummins (1982) suggest that bilingual programs should

validate the cultural identity of students to invalidate feelings of ambivalence.

C. Positive Samples of Bilingual Education Case Studies

The following case studies illustrate the benefits of bilingual education programs.

A Bilingual Pre-school

Winsler *et al.* (1997) conducted a study of bilingual development in pre-school children. The study was a follow-up of Rodríguez's *et al.* (1995) and a re-application of this same study with a different cohort. Rodríguez's *et al.* (1995) original study found that native Spanish-speaking children in a bilingual pre-school program and children not in the program had improved English and Spanish skills in one year, but the bilingual participants had especially larger gains in English (Winsler *et al.* 1997). A second year follow up of these children revealed that bilingual program children continued to make larger gains in English.

The re-application sample conducted by Winsler *et al.* (1997) consisted of a similar number of children from the same community, similarly divided into bilingual program and control groups. This study revealed similar results to those obtained by Rodríguez *et al.*'s (1995). The Winsler *et al.* study concluded that a high quality bilingual pre-school program does promote development of both native and second language skills, it does not impede native language development, and significantly enhances second language learning (Winsler *et al.* 1997).

Coral Way Elementary School

The program at the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County was a two-way bilingual education program that involved Cuban and Anglo students (Cohen 1975: 34). In a two-way bilingual education program classes are taught in one language in the morning and in the other language in the afternoon. When assessing the bilingual program at Coral Way Elementary School, it was found that the experimental students, both Spanish speaking and English speaking, did as well as control students, who were only taught in English, in language arts, and in math achievement (Inclán 1971).

Nye Elementary School

In the case of the Nye Elementary School in Webb County, Texas, Treviño (1968) studied 87 Mexican-American and 96 Anglo children schooled bilingually in math over three years (Cohen 1975: 35). In the first and second grades, bilingual teachers instructed the students in both

languages. The content was first given in one language and then translated into the other. In the third grade, the children were team taught with math content presented by one teacher in one language in the morning and then repeated by the other teacher in the afternoon. The classrooms were fully integrated so that native Spanish speakers and native English speakers were both exposed to math instruction in both languages.

The children were given the Arithmetic Subtest of the California Achievement Test in first and third grade. Results showed that Mexican-American children taught bilingually performed higher than those taught in English alone. In first grade there was no difference between the groups in math reasoning. However, in third grade the bilingual children came ahead in math reasoning, and equaled in math fundamentals. Treviño concluded that bilingual education did not "retard progress in mathematics," rather she contended that bilingual education enhanced it (Cohen 1975: 35).

III. Consequences

The case studies conducted by Winsler *et al.*, Inclán and Treviño concluded that bilingual children perform equally or at a superior level than children solely taught in English. However, not all bilingual education programs in the United States have produced such positive outcomes. First, it can be argued that the inconsistency of outcomes in bilingual education programs lies on the fact that there is not "one single" type of bilingual education program but rather many different models. However, there are those who argue that different models of bilingual education are beneficial to children since communities across the country differ from one another and therefore each community should have a tailored bilingual education program to meet the needs of its students (August and Hakuta 1997). Four types of bilingual education programs will be discussed below. Secondly, there is evidence indicating that the educational and economic background of Latino parents and their children can have an impact in the effectiveness of bilingual education programs.

A. Types of Bilingual Education Program

Two-way Bilingual Program

In this type of program both native and non-native speakers of English are instructed in two languages. The goal of this program is to instill fluency in two languages for both sets of students and to maintain the native language of the student and develop a positive attitude toward the native culture (Brisk 1998: 17). Programs vary in the amount of time each language is used, which subject is taught in what language, and the

distribution of language during the day. Although there is research indicating this type of program produces the highest academic achievers of all other bilingual programs, it is not commonly implemented in school districts (Hornblower 1995). An example of this type of program is the Coral Way Elementary School.

Two-way Bilingual Immersion Program

In this type of program initial instruction is conducted in the native language of the minority student with minimal or no English language instruction. Instruction of English is increased with each grade (Brisk 1998: 17). For example, in a San Diego school, students in a two-way immersion program are taught in Spanish from first through third grade. From fourth through sixth grade Spanish instruction is divided equally with English (Krashen and Biber 1988; Lindholm and Aclam 1991).

The Transitional Bilingual Program

The transitional bilingual program is the most widely used program in the United States. The program uses both languages during classroom instruction. Its goal is the teaching of English and the mainstreaming of students into monolingual classes. Speed is a key factor and as result the curricula lasts for two to three years, thus being called the early exit program (Brisk 1998).

A study of a transitional program conducted by Ramírez (1992) revealed that students received only literacy instruction in the native language and that the rest of the subjects were taught in English. At the end of the first or second year most students were mainstreamed.

One of the weaknesses of transitional programs is that success is measured by the speed at which students are mainstreamed. When the goal of a program is mainstreaming rather than learning; teachers, students, administrators, and even parents concentrate on English acquisition at the expense of content-area learning (Brisk 1998: 19).

The Maintenance or Pluralistic Program

This type of program seeks to achieve English proficiency while maintaining the native language and developing a positive attitude toward the native culture (Brisk 1998: 19). It is the second most used program in the United States. The curriculum of the assimilation program is mostly composed of Spanish classes (Ovando 1985). For example, in a longitudinal study conducted by Ramírez (1991) students were required to receive at least 40% percent of their instruction in Spanish regardless of fluency in English (Ovando 1985). As a result, due to the heavy emphasis placed in maintaining the native language and culture, students tend to become more proficient in their native language than in English (Ovando 1985).

B. The Effect of Economic Status and Educational Background on Bilingual Education Programs

The economic status and educational background of many Latino parents and students enrolled in bilingual education programs has had an impact in its effectiveness[6]. First, many Latino parents have a minimal educational background, which does not allow them to teach their children how to read, write and speak proper Spanish. As a result the children's acquisition of English is delayed. Having a foundation in the native language is very beneficial for children because research indicates that, for example, the ability to read transfers across languages (Krashen 1997). Therefore children with a foundation in, for example, Spanish can learn English faster.

Secondly, parents from poor economic and educational backgrounds are likely not to speak English. This means that once the child begins to learn English, he or she will not be able to practice the language acquired in school at home. The 1990 Census determined that 28 percent of language minority children, aged 5-17 are "linguistically isolated," that is, they live in households where no one over the age of 14 speaks English very well (Census Bureau 1993). On the other hand, Latino students who have parents with a higher economic status and whose parents also have a higher educational background might do better than students from poor economic backgrounds[7]. One of the reasons is because these children are likely to have had a foundation in Spanish prior to enrolling in school and may have someone at home with whom to speak English. In the book *Educational Psychology*, Simoes states:

> Particularly where literacy in the home is delayed until children start school, and where the objective is transition from the home language to the school language for all further educational purposes once literacy in the latter is attained, it seems to be implicitly accepted that most of those who do not speak the school language at home, in comparison with those who do, will remain permanently retarded in education. (1996: 18)

IV. Conclusion

Bilingualism is definitely not a handicap. When students achieve fluency in both their native language and English they can only cognitively benefit. However, opponents of bilingualism continue to argue that it causes cognitive retardation. One of the primary problems when discussing the effects of bilingualism is that there is an underlying assumption that there only exists one type of bilingual education program. The reality is that there are four primary models and that within each model great

variations exist because school districts in the US design their school curriculum and determine their own goals for the program. As a result, when a study has a negative outcome regarding a bilingual education program it does not signify that bilingualism has a negative impact on students.

Some of the problems hampering the effectiveness of bilingual education programs are the reduction of Title VII funds and the economic status and educational background of parents and students. First, in order to continue improving bilingual education programs, agencies overseeing them need funds to continue training teachers, awarding grants for instructional programs, and gathering data to ensure that students are adequately learning English. Secondly, although students from a low economic and limited educational background do not benefit from a bilingual education as much as students from a higher economic and educational background, it does not signify that students in the former category should be denied a bilingual education. Instead, efforts should be made to help students from a modest background compensate for the impact this might have in their ability to become bilinguals.

In sum, the future of bilingual education is a bleak one but not because it handicaps children. After years of studies, researchers have evidence to prove that bilingualism benefits students cognitively. However, the current political atmosphere is one of animosity toward bilingual education. This past year, Proposition 227 was passed in California and others are likely to follow even though there continue to be studies showing that bilingualism does not handicap students but rather benefits them.

Notes

1. In June 1998, the English for the Children Initiative or Proposition 227 was passed in California. It requires that nearly 1.4 million students classified as "limited English proficient" complete a one-year English immersion course prior to being placed in a class where nearly all instructions is conducted in English. In certain circumstances, students who prefer to continue receiving bilingual instruction may request an exemption from the immersion program. See: "Passage of Proposition 227 Prompts Immediate Legal Challenge," *Your School and the Law* 28 (12), June 19, 1998.
2. See: "Passage of Proposition 227 Prompts Immediate Legal Challenge," *Your School and the Law* 28 (12), June 19, 1998.
3. According to Met and Galloway (1992) Spanish is the most widely taught foreign language.
4. For example, two of bilingual education programs harshest critics, Rosell and Baker, do not claim that bilingual education handicaps students or does not work; instead they claim that there is little evidence that bilingual education is superior to all English programs (Rossell and Baker 1996).
5. Other studies like the one released in 1978 by the American Institute for Research (AIR) showed inappropriate use of methodology when evaluating bilingual education programs. AIR's 1978 study was the first large-scale comparative evaluation of bilingual education in the US. AIR concluded that it could not find evidence for the overall

effectiveness of bilingual education approaches, as compared with sink or swim instruction. The study's methodology was strongly criticized because it failed to take into account teaching methods, socieconomic status of students, etc. (Crawford 1989: 39).

6. The 1990 census counted 14 million persons–six percent of the US population–who report some difficulty with English. This group is 12 times as likely to have completed less than five years of schooling and half as likely to have graduated from high school, as compared with native speakers. In addition, children from such households were 50 percent more likely to live in poverty (Crawford 1997: 15).
7. Moss and Puma (1995) reported that Prospects, a national study of Chapter 1 program, found that 54 percent of LEP children in grades 1 and 3 came from families with incomes under $15,000–twice the rate for all public school students. In addition, at all grade levels seventy-seven percent of LEP students qualified for free or reduced price lunches in 1991 (Crawford 1997: 16).

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US English and The Anti-Immigration Backlash: What is Behind and Below?

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The recent debates surrounding Propositions 187 and 227 in California have launched many offsprings that parallel the same sentiments in other states, such as Illinois. The purpose of Proposition 187 is to discourage immigration by barring undocumented immigrants from access to government services including public education and public health services, except for emergency care. Proposition 227 requires that "nearly all" public education instruction be conducted in English, and provides children one year of instructional support for the learning of English in "intensive sheltered English immersion" classes. Thus, Proposition 227 is based on the assumption that most children will learn enough English to function effectively in school after one year in the above mentioned classes. Consequently, the anti-immigration backlash has been identified, in the eyes of most progressives, with Propositions 187 and 227. However, the reaction against poor third world immigrants has not stopped with the intent of making the stay of undocumented workers more difficult in the United States (US). Despite the motivations and hopes of legal immigrants that voted in favor of Proposition 187 in California, thinking perhaps that their legal status would make them invulnerable to further attacks, now a second ghost is re-appearing to haunt them. Along with the second coming of the English Only Movement, not surprisingly supported by several conservative politicians such as ex-secretary of Education William Bennett

and former Republican senator Bob Dole, Californians approved Proposition 209. This anti-affirmative action initiative constitutes a direct attack against all minorities in the state of California, including women, African-Americans, Asians, and Latinos who voted in favor of Propositions 187 in the past.

English Only, or as their supporters now want it to be known, US English, had appeared already during the 1980s with the agenda of "helping" the immigrants from non-English speaking countries to accelerate their English language proficiency. English Only aficionados argue that such a goal would be achieved if immigrants are forced to become immersed in English without the hazards of getting involved in Bilingual Education programs, ballots in foreign languages, or any other public service that would use other languages simultaneously with English. Conveniently, taxpayers would save a lot of money by not implementing any public service that would not be conducted in English. Although favored by the electorate throughout several states of the Union, after English Only won in Arizona by a close margin it was declared unconstitutional and prevented from becoming state law anywhere in the nation. Now that US English is making a resurgence, it is necessary to review the findings of researchers who are critical of the funding, goals, and ideas of the English Only movement.

Who is Really Behind English Only?

According to *USA Today* (April 6, 1995: 12-A), the English Only Movement is based on:

> a disgraceful tradition: New York once barred one million Yiddish speaking *citizens* from voting. California disfranchised Chinese. Nebraska, in an anti-Kaiser frenzy, expelled German and any other foreign language from its elementary schools.
>
> And it's unnecessary. The vast majority of immigrants are assimilating quite nicely. More than 95% of first-generation Mexican-Americans are proficient in English; by the second generation, most have totally lost their parents' native tongue. Tens of thousand of immigrants are on waiting lists for over-enrolled adult English classes. The urge to succeed drives most immigrants to learn English quickly. Laws that make the language "official" only deny our history and surrender to our fears.

In *Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy*, James Crawford shows (1992: 171-177) that the funding of the US English Movement comes from groups that have vested interests in anti-Latin American, anti-African, anti-Asian, and anti-Catholic immigration into the US. The white supremacist nature of US English supporters caused a split in its steering committee–Linda Chávez resigned in the midst of a media scandal–as well as the loss of celebrity sponsors

such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Walter Cronkite. Furthermore, Crawford (1992: 176-177) argues:

> One thing is clear. Rather than promote English proficiency, 99 percent of the organization's efforts go toward restricting the use of other languages. Certainly, there is nothing in Official English legislation to help anyone learn English. On the other hand, there is much to penalize those who have yet to do so.
>
> The potential for mischief is wide-ranging. Would states be allowed to provide drivers' exams, assist voters, publish tourist information, or enforce contracts in languages other English? Could courts supply translators in eviction, bankruptcy, divorce, or adoption proceedings? Would schools be permitted to use bilingual education to foster fluency in foreign languages? Could Indian or Hispanic legislators communicate with constituents in their native tongues? Probably not, under the more draconian Official English measures. Arizona's Proposition 106, for example, would largely forbid public employees to use other languages on the job. In any case, such questions would be litigated for years to come . . .
>
> If U.S. English sincerely wanted to foster ethnic harmony, it would stop chastising immigrants, open its multi-million-dollar campaign chest, and join with advocates for Asians and Hispanics to remedy the scarcity of seats in adult English classes. Instead, it exploits strong feelings about languages to build a new nativist movement.

Minorities supporting Propositions 187 and 227 or US English, may see their actions come back to haunt them. As Howard Jordan (1995: 35-38) argues in his article, public policy targeted at undocumented immigrants also often ends up harming Puerto Ricans and African Americans. For example, "between 1980 and 1988, 53% of immigrants to the United States were of African descent. Thus, the shortsightedness of some African-American leaders has resulted in their attacking people who form part of their natural political constituency" (Jordan 1995:36). Furthermore, "the growing anti-immigration hysteria promotes a climate of discrimination which directly affects Puerto Ricans, who are viewed by many as 'foreigners'" (Jordan 1995:38). Finally, as Rick López (1995: 11-12) makes clear:

> English-Only makes little economic sense, promoting monoligualism when multilingualism is becoming an economic imperative . . .
>
> NAFTA and GATT largely reflect the fact that world economics, the U.S. included, are increasingly export-driven. In the U.S., exports create more jobs, and higher-paying jobs, than any other sector of the economy. It is no accident that the fastest growing economies over the past few decades–for example, Japan, Germany, and Taiwan-have had their economic growth fueled by rapidly growing exports.

The above review shows the true nature of the leadership of the English Only Movement. Their agenda is one of elitism, racism, and anti-dark skinned immigration. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to give an explanation of why such a movement has a constituency in the US.

Proposition 187 in California passed with 59 percent of the vote, including the support of 40 to 50 percent of black and Asian voters and 20 to 25 percent of Latino voters (Schuyler 1996: 27). Exit polls conducted in Texas and California in 1988, based on voter interviews in favor or against English Only propositions, showed that supporters of such measures belonged to every educational or income group (Schmid 1992: 203-209). However, voters clearly differed in one dimension: ethnicity. Latinos were much less likely (around 24 percent) to vote in favor of English Only propositions than non-Latinos (around 64 percent) in Texas and California (Schmid 1992: 203-209). Although "racism" might be used to explain the resulting positive voting behavior of a large segment of the voters across several states, the task remains to explain what motivates such behavior, since a significant portion of the support of English Only propositions comes from African-Americans, Latinos, and Asian-Americans, precisely the constituency most affected by racist attitudes and laws. In the next section, several theories are reviewed to explain what motivates the social base that supports English Only and other anti-immigration laws.

The Social Constituency of Anti-Immigration Movements: Theoretical Approaches

Social Status and Conservative Movements Theories

Alternative interpretations of support for English Only–that could be extended to support for Proposition 187–have been based on the role that status and politics play in conservative social movements. Carol Schmid (1992: 203) summarizes the theories of Lipset and Raab (1978), Bell (1964), and Gusfield (1963), respectively:

> According to the notion of status preservation, declining groups seek to maintain their eroding position by identifying with extremist causes. A second approach also emphasizes status politics, arguing that supporters of Senator Joseph McCarthy, for example, were either falling in status (small-town, old Protestants) or rising in status (immigrant groups anxious to demonstrate their "Americanism"). A final theory postulates that status symbolism, rather than an angry response to changes in status, is of primary importance in swelling the ranks of conservative movements. According to this view, the American temperance movement reflected identification with a threatened lifestyle, a symbolic clash between two cultures-dry, Protestant middle classes versus wet, immigrant, primarily Catholic workers.

In her analysis of voters in favor or against English Only measures in Texas and California in 1988, Schmid (1992: 204) observes however that status loss-gain or status symbolism theories fail in the case of the English Only Movement. The reason-she argues-is the absence of a clearly defined group that is losing status or that needs status symbolism. Exit polls conducted in Texas and California show that white non-Latinos ("Anglos"

in Schmid's analysis) tend to vote in favor of English Only across income or age groups. The only significant group differences are: (1) Latinos ("Hispanics" in her analysis) vote significantly less than white non-Latinos; and (2) women tend to vote less for English Only compared to men, although the differences are not as large as in the Latino *versus* white non-Latino case. We will discuss these observations after presenting the following perspective.

The Split Labor Market Theory

Global economic competition has increased sharply during the last thirty years. In 1962, American Fortune 500 corporations doubled those of Europe and outnumbered five times those of Asia. By 1992, the number of Fortune 500 corporations of the Americas, Europe, and Asia had become very close, approximately 150 from each sub-continent (Bradshaw and Wallace 1996: 181). Vernon (1990: 19) summarizes the decline of the American competitive advantage:

> Although the United States continued to hold a dominant place in world trade and investment, its relative position was substantially reduced. U.S. output had accounted for about 38 percent of world output in 1950, but it was down to about 27 percent in 1990. U.S. merchandise exports, which had amounted to about 20 percent of world exports in the early 1950s, had slipped to about 10 percent by 1990. In 1950 the foreign direct investments of U.S.-based firms were greater than the foreign direct investments of firms based in all other countries combined; by 1990, however, firms based in Europe and Japan had built up their overseas investments to totals that nearly tripled the U.S. totals.

Such a level of economic competition has propelled the formation of trade agreements among countries around the world: the National Free-Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the USA, Mexico, and Canada; the Maastricht Treaty that created the European Union (EU); and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

Although the primary motivations for US interests in the NAFTA pact are the competition from Europe and Asia, access to cheap labor in Mexico, and an emerging middle-class consumer market in Mexico; the calculated immediate effect has been the loss of approximately 100,000 American jobs (Myerson 1995: 1). Even if this is a temporary effect of the Mexican economic recession, the immediate reaction in the US has been of opposition against NAFTA, especially among manufacturing workers.

Thus, the anti-immigration backlash in the US has to be analyzed in the perspective of the American business decline with respect to Asia and Europe. International competition has made it more difficult for American corporations to obtain the levels of profits that could guarantee traditional standards of living for some segments of the population. Such a situation has been worsened by the relocation of manufacturing plants to other

countries, particularly in Latin America and Asia, which has increased the likelihood of American workers becoming unemployed or underemployed. Given that potentially the threat of losing one's job could extend from blue collar manufacturing jobs to white collar and professional jobs, the reaction of the American workers against immigrants–seen as another potential threat within an already fragile job environment–would encompass segments of the population across different social classes.

As commented above, an important reason for American corporations to relocate manufacturing plants in other countries is the availability of a cheaper labor force. Similarly, if immigrant workers are perceived by Americans to be able to accept lower wages for the same jobs the latter would perform, then the threat of a lower standard of living is now at home. Given that in the present circumstances American workers can do very little to stop Multinational Corporations from relocating their factories to other countries, their efforts will tend to concentrate in impeding the foreign threat to come into their country. Thus, the real or imaginary threat of a split labor market across foreign and national lines, combined with a split across ethnic lines in the case of Latin American, Asian, or African immigrants is likely to produce ethnic and anti-immigrant conflict among segments of the American population.

Immigrants from areas with a lower standard of living *vis-à-vis* the US are specially threatening for American workers, since their willingness to accept lower wages than American workers to perform a certain job constitutes, in the eyes of Americans, an unfair threat. Therefore, although in principle all immigrant competitors are threatening, those coming from more underdeveloped areas of the world are perceived as a more serious threat against the American way of life. Consequently, given that the underdeveloped areas of the world are more likely to contain non-white, or non-pure-European origin populations, the reaction of American workers against such immigrants or potential immigrants is going to be tarnished by racism. As explained by Edna Bonacich's (1972) split labor market theory of ethnic antagonism, those workers with a higher standard of living are also more resourceful. They have well organized unions, access to political parties, and media influence. Their optimal solution would be to expel all those foreign workers that represent a potential threat to their well-being, as in the case of Australia under the "all white Australia immigration policy" of 1896-1923, a policy oriented to prevent capitalists from importing cheaper labor from India, China, Japan and the Pacific Islands, that resulted in a policy of exclusion of Asian and Polynesian immigrants (Bonacich 1972).

If the exclusion of cheaper labor from the market is not possible, then higher paid labor will try a caste arrangement. That is, cheaper labor will be excluded from certain types of work. The good jobs, with good wages

and work conditions will belong to the more resourceful group, while the cheaper group of workers will be restricted to lower status jobs with lower wages and inferior working conditions. Bonacich (1972: 482) illustrates this case with South Africa's Apartheid:

> Unlike exclusion movements, caste systems retain the underlying reality of a price differential, for if a member of the subordinate group were to occupy the same position as a member of the stronger labor group he would be paid less. Hence, caste systems tend to become rigid and vigilant, developing an elaborate battery of laws, customs and beliefs aimed to prevent undercutting. The victory has three facets. First, the higher paid group tries to ensure its power in relation to business by monopolizing the acquisition of certain essential skills, thereby ensuring the effectiveness of strike action, or by controlling such important resources as purchasing power. Second, it tries to prevent the immediate use of cheaper labor as undercutters and strikebreakers by denying them access to general education thereby making their training as quick replacements more difficult, or by ensuring through such devices as "influx control" that the cheaper group will retain a base in their traditional economies. The latter move ensures a backward-sloping labor supply function [...] undesirable to business. Third, it tries to weaken the cheaper group politically, to prevent their pushing for those resources that would make them useful as undercutters. In other words, the solution to the devastating potential of weak, cheap labor is, paradoxically, to weaken them further, until it is no longer in business' immediate interest to use them as replacements.

In this view, the ultimate goal of US English or English Only laws as well as Propositions 187 and 227 and other similar measures, would be the reduction of third world immigrants to the situation of an inferior caste. The attacks against bilingual education are nothing less than obstacles to immigrant access to education. The real intention of the above laws and propositions is to monopolize native worker's access to essential skills, such as education and on-the-job training, as well as political resources, e.g. political voting and influence on legislation. By denying third-world immigrants comparable quality education, access to political organization, and the protection of the health care system, the native workers hope to dissuade the competition from the willingness to compete at all. That is, supporters of anti-immigration groups hope that such an "elaborate battery of laws, customs and beliefs" will stop immigrants from coming, especially those with a lower standard of living. If their expectations are as bad as what they can have in their countries, why come at all? Why risk such high psychological and economic investments, if economically there will not be any progress and if psychologically-even physically-they would have to confront racism and discrimination?

Nevertheless, if those immigrants come after all, the law will make sure they will be kept in their proper place: as an inferior caste. In order to make sure these immigrants will be a future inferior caste, it will become necessary to exclude the next generations from escaping their caste-like future. Thus, the constitutional right of children of illegal immigrants to

be American citizens must be eliminated. As Edna Bonacich points above, the inferior caste has to be weakened until it is no longer useful for employers. That is, which employers are going to employ such unskilled, uneducated, unhealthy, and undisciplined labor force? Surely, that is precisely the idea of English Only laws and Propositions 187 and 227.

Thus, an interpretation of the English Only and Propositions 187 and 227 movements through the split labor theory provides some interesting considerations regarding status theories. First, the hypothetical defense of "status" or the use of "status symbolism" among American workers has an economic base. Most Americans are clearly threatened by international economic competition from Europe and Asia. American corporations are not as almighty powerful as they used to be. Hence, the hegemonical status of Americans *vis-à-vis* other countries of the world has decreased. Second, capital flight and the threat of plant closings have diminished the strength of unions to negotiate across the US, making job security more rare to find. Consequently, the high status of unionized jobs has suffered. Similarly, other professional and white collar workers are also threatened to follow suit if such jobs can be provided by cheaper professionals in the Third World. Finally, native workers try to protect their economic status by electing laws restricting the flow of immigrants–legal or undocumented. Both types of immigrants are threatening, but the latter type is the most dangerous. Undocumented workers are more likely to accept lower salaries and displace native workers. Therefore, by using political means, native workers will try a policy of territorial exclusion, combined with the creation of a caste-like system, where undocumented workers are to be placed in the inferior caste.

The former considerations might explain why white non-Latino workers would support English Only laws and Propositions 187 and 227. They also suggest an explanation of why some segments of minority groups—including Latinos, Asian, and African Americans—would support such reforms. These minority groups are the most threatened by immigrant job competition, given that they are disproportionally represented in low-skill occupations-the most looked after jobs by undocumented immigrants. However, minority support for anti-immigration laws cannot include the majority of the minority groups. The difficulty to identify legal and undocumented workers, plus the general threat that all immigrants offer to native white non-Latino workers, make ethnic conflict go beyond undocumented immigrants *versus* native workers. The use of "cheap" screening devices–skin color, physical features, height, foreign language use etc.–to identify undocumented immigrants, make minority groups the victims of ethnic conflict, since those groups share the same ethnic characteristics of targeted undocumented immigrants. Thus, the ambivalent position of minority groups as victims and persecutors may

divide them more radically in terms of their support of anti-immigration legislation. But the most ironic part of the anti-immigration backlash embodied by Propositions 187 and 227 is that these reforms will not work. On the contrary, their consequences will be just the opposite of what they intended to do, as we argue in the following section.

Immigration and Public Policy

The majority of the US public and policy makers believe that the causes of immigration are self-evident. That is, poverty, unemployment, economic stagnation, and overpopulation push people to leave their countries and come to the United States. However, if these were truly the fundamental reasons for immigration to the US, there would be a much larger number of people from the poorest regions and countries of the world. There would be more immigrants from Africa, Bolivia, Paraguay, and most rural areas in developing countries than from Mexico, Taiwan, South Korea, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and El Salvador. The migrants from the latter countries also, for the most part, tend to come from urban areas in their countries. As immigration experts Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut (1996: 10) point out that:

> [t]he available studies coincide on two points: The very poor and the unemployed seldom migrate, either legally or illegally; and unauthorized immigrants tend to have above-average levels of education and occupational skills in comparison with their homeland populations. More important, they are positively self-selected in terms of ambition and willingness to work.

Nevertheless, for a migration flow to start, a previous connection has to exist between the sender and the receiving countries. Such a connection has historically been established by way of conquest, invasion, or foreign investment by a core developed country over less developed areas of the world. Thus, the nineteenth century invasions of Mexico, the former Spanish possessions of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines by an expanding US set the basis for a colonial or neocolonial relationship between the upcoming superpower and these peripheral regions. Later in the twentieth century, it is the US military interventions in South Korea, Vietnam, and Central America that brings to the United States the first contingents of refugees from these countries who will constitute the foundations for their future immigration networks on US soil (Sassen, 1995). Furthermore, the flows of foreign investment with the associated diffusion of new consumption expectations, the structural imbalancing of peripheral areas, and the electronic transmission of information about life standards in the developed world suffice to encourage emigration. Such a structural imbalancing is evident in the case of El Salvador (Sassen 1995: 274):

> Despite El Salvador's longstanding poverty, only in 1981, when U.S. military involvement escalated sharply, did emigration begin on a massive scale. People left out of fear for their lives and because it became impossible to eke out a living with the war raging around them. But it was the linkages created by U.S. investment during the 1970s, and its military presence after 1980, that made emigration to the United States seem like a real possibility, even though for many the United States represented the enemy. Sarah Mahler found that many Salvadorans who emigrated to the United States had first worked as migrant laborers on export-oriented coffee plantations.

This was the reason that the US received 19.5 percent of all emigration from Central America, but 52 percent of emigration from El Salvador, the country with the greatest US involvement in the area (Sassen 1995: 275). Moreover, even within the same country, families and communities of similar socioeconomic condition can produce very different migration histories. As Portes and Rumbaut (1996: 276) explain:

> Once an external event such as the presence of labor recruiters or the diffusion of information about economic opportunities abroad triggers the departure of a few pioneering migrants, the migration process may become self-sustaining through the construction of increasingly dense social ties across space.
>
> The return of successful migrants and the information that they bring facilitate the journey of others. To the extent that migration abroad fulfills the goals of individuals and families, the process continues to the point that it becomes normative. When this happens, going abroad ceases to be an exceptional affair and becomes the "proper thing to do," first for adult males and then for entire families. At some moment, networks across international borders acquire sufficient strength to induce migration for motives other than those that initiated the flow. People move to join families, care for children and relatives, or avail themselves of social and educational opportunities created by the ethnic community abroad.

In consequence, measures such as Propositions 187 and 227, conceived to discourage immigration by keeping undocumented immigrants away from government services, are seeking to control immigration by using individual incentives and disincentives without taking into consideration broader social forces. Immigrants from communities with longstanding migrant networks do not migrate to pursue welfare privileges, but jobs. The measures established by Propositions 187 and 227 will not discourage their members from migrating to the US (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: 281). If anything, Propositions 187 and 227 will only make the situation of undocumented immigrants more difficult, will send those migrants deeper into the underground economy, and will benefit their employers, who in turn will be able to exploit their vulnerability more extensively.

If undocumented immigration has to be stopped effectively, policymakers would be better off by first supporting independent unionization of workers, including undocumented immigrant laborers in the US and in developing countries; second, increasing their wage to provide

a more humanitarian standard of living; and third, financing the economic development of the communities that send most migrants–through the work of non-governmental organizations already working in those communities–to avoid those funds going to corrupt officials. These measures would certainly reduce the interest of US employers in using undocumented immigrants as a source of labor and redirect the social networks of migration to investment and entrepreneurship in their countries of origin. Furthermore, to blame immigrants, especially undocumented ones for unemployment or underemployment in the US is misguided. Although some evidence has found that at a local level immigrant workers affect the job prospects of native born workers (Kircheman and Neckerman 1991; Tienda and Stier 1996), overall, aggregate statistical studies reveal an insignificant or slightly positive effect of undocumented immigration on the earnings and employment of native workers (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: 289). In addition, other studies have found that foreign workers have been instrumental in sustaining and reviving declining economic sectors, such as the garment, footwear, furniture, and other low-tech industries during the 1980s (Fernández-Kelly and García 1985; Muller and Espenshade 1985; Sassen 1989; Waldinger 1985; Zhou 1992). Thus, in the case that immigrant workers have displaced some native workers at some local firms, the dynamism of immigrant workers has created new sources of employment that have compensated for the former ones (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: 289).

Thus, Propositions 187 and 227 will not stop undocumented immigration to the US. Their effects, however, will have deleterious consequences for minorities, especially for those of low socioeconomic status. Indeed, the elimination of bilingual education in California is likely to undermine immigrant children's likelihood of acquiring a quality education. In what follows, we analyze why Proposition 227 is very likely to fail and the repercussions of the elimination of bilingual education in California.

The Imminent Failure of Proposition 227

As previously mentioned, Proposition 227 requires that "nearly all" instruction be conducted in English and provides children one year of instructional support for the learning of English in "intensive sheltered English immersion programs." The question remains: can children make enough progress in one year with this kind of instructional support in order to access the school's English Only curriculum? As education specialists Lily Wong Fillmore (1998) and Kenji Hakuta (1998) conclude, this is a highly unlikely outcome:

> How are teachers to teach school's curriculum to children who do not understand the medium of instruction? The usual solution is to reduce the content

> ordinarily covered and to simplify the language used to impart the curriculum to the barest essentials. Hence, neither the content nor the language used in such classes are at appropriate levels for the students. The resultant "dumbing down" of the language and content means that students do not get access either to the language or to the curriculum they should be learning in school, whatever their grade level. While a sheltered program with primary language support may approximate equal access for children with substantial but imperfect English language skills, there is no way that it can provide equal or indeed any meaningful access for the non-English proficient student.
>
> Can students base their learning of English on the instructional support provided in such classes? The answer is this: the English they learn in such classes in a year is not enough to allow them to survive, much less to compete, in school without substantial further specialized instructional assistance. Moreover, students in such situations often learn an imperfect pidgin-like variety of English rather than the standard variety of English required for school. These learner varieties of English, if not corrected, can cause lasting problems for students, since they are difficult to overcome.
>
> ... All of them eventually learn survival English, but substantial numbers of them, having gotten their start initially in programs like the proposed sheltered English immersion classes, learn forms of English which do not support progress in school.
>
> ... [T]he research has shown that proficiency in academic English can not be attained by most children in less than 4 to 5 years under the best of conditions. It should also be noted that academic English requires not only proficiency in speaking and understanding, but also in reading and writing at the levels required for each grade level. Absent this, the child will fail in a mainstream classroom that is taught exclusively or nearly exclusively in English. That is what one can predict, on the basis of the available research, for these children.

On his part, Hakuta (1998) analyzes the studies that academic defenders of Proposition 227 have cited in support of these reforms. His conclusions mark the weaknesses of the English Only testimony and their highly politicized use of empirical evidence–very often bent beyond academic rigor to justify English Only claims–and, when carefully considered, point the other way in favor of bilingual education curricula. For example, regarding the way other countries deal with the education of their immigrant children, Hakuta (1998: 5) concludes the following:

> [R]esearch in other countries does not provide a sound theoretical basis for Proposition 227. First, there is no well-established immersion approach common to all countries. Second, these countries have not developed successful means to educate their immigrant children, who tend to drop out of school and fail to learn either content or language. Third, the individual international studies cited in support of structured immersion are misrepresented, and actually show alarming failure rates.

As explained by Donaldo Macedo (1997: 275), English Only programs contradict a fundamental principle of reading, namely, that students learn to read faster and with better comprehension when taught in their native language. Furthermore, he points to the fact that in contrast to the zeal for

a common culture and English Only, these conservative educators remain silent about racism, inequality, subjugation, and exploitation that affect minority children (Macedo 1997: 273). Finally, Macedo (1997: 270) throws a definite blow to the English Only assumption that English education has no problems:

> First, if English is the most effective educational language, how can we explain that over 60 million Americans are illiterate or functionally illiterate [. . .]? Second, if education solely in English can guarantee linguistic minorities a better future, as educators like William Bennett promise, why do the majority of Black Americans, whose ancestors have been speaking English for over 200 years, find themselves still relegated to ghettoes?

Thus, the resulting failure of the English Only measures encompassed by Proposition 227 will increase the likelihood of school dropout for immigrant children. It will also strengthen the pattern leading these children to permanent poverty and "segmented assimilation" into the underclass (Portes 1995: 251).

Conclusion

Minority voters in favor of Proposition 187 were surprised by yet another proposition in California: the rejection of Affirmative Action (Proposition 209). Such a sequence of outcomes seems to advance more evidence to the hypothesis that American workers feel threatened by skin-colored third-world immigrants and support Propositions 187 and 227 in California and English Only laws in other states. It also shows that minority voters skeptical about supporting an anti-immigration backlash that would come to haunt them, have been right. Analogously, one might hypothesize that, in the case of a caste solution being implemented in the United States to restrict the mobility chances of undocumented immigrants, such movement would eventually extend to the next phase: the inclusion of minority groups into such an inferior caste. That is, we could be heading back to the years before the Civil Rights Movement.

Similarly, the progress that a militarization of the border to solve the problem of undocumented immigration has achieved on one hand, and on the other, the police solution to the problem of crime in the impoverished neighborhoods–extensively populated by minorities–shows how connected the problems of illegal immigrants and minorities are in the United States. It also shows that minority organizations and voters should consider their common interests with third-world immigrants. A political alliance between these two groups would certainly increase the political pressure to avoid more attacks against services for undocumented immigrants, such as education and health, and would solidify a united front ready to fight a

second wave of attacks against the provision of services for impoverished minorities.

Among the services to be eliminated by English Only supporters, bilingual education could be easily proved to be a general good to benefit the whole population. In a world of increased international trade and communications, American workers will need to increase their human capital. The teaching of a second language in bilingual education programs will benefit everyone at an earlier age. Bilingual education is not a policy that exclusively benefits a minority group. Therefore, its elimination goes against the interest of the majority of American workers. It only favors the interest of an elite that can acquire language skills through alternative ways at a much higher cost that they can certainly afford without a problem.

Although destined to the garbage can of History, US English can still do a lot of damage. Its supporters have focused their current efforts on eliminating Bilingual Education. Because of this, it is imperative to inform and be informed, first, about the real reasons behind US English: racism, anti-immigration, and elitism. And second, that programs like Bilingual Education are the lifeline for many immigrants to succeed and become empowered. Bilingual Education must not become a casualty in the path of the elites to regain and maintain power.

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Was NAFTA a Blessing or a Curse to Mexico's Environmental Politics?

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> We would achieve more progress if we could work more closely with our Mexican counterparts. Nafta will give us the momentum to do that.
>
> –Jesús Reynoso, Director of Air Quality in El Paso
>
> Mexico has to have the resources to deal with these problems. You can't deal with these issues if you are poor.
>
> –Peter R. Haven, Director of the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis

The presidents of Mexico and the United States (US) signed the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on December 17, 1992. Its passage through Congress was not a smooth one since environmental organizations such as Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club believed NAFTA did not incorporate adequate provision to combat the potential increase in pollution and depletion of natural resources resulting from trade liberalization. However, there were many other environmental organizations that favored the passage of NAFTA, such as the National Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Environmental Defense Fund. These environmental agencies believed the environment would benefit from the agreement because the Mexican government would be provided with the means to enforce necessary environmental regulations.

A geographical area that has benefited, but critics claim it has been harmed as a result of the passage of NAFTA, is the Mexico-US border. Supporters of NAFTA claim that this area has benefited because problems, such as, air and water pollution, that are created by *maquiladora* sectors–

duty free areas where goods mainly from the US are produced–have been addressed. On the other hand, critics of NAFTA claim that the Mexico-US border has been harmed because NAFTA's trade liberalizations have led to an increase in the construction of industries along the border. This has been a problem for the Mexican government since their resources and expertise have not been sufficient to efficiently impose environmental laws on these industries. NAFTA has certainly had a significant impact in Mexico's environmental politics, and set forth below are some of the positive and negative effects of the agreement.

I. The Evolution of NAFTA

The Negotiations Prior to Its Passage

In 1990 President Carlos Salinas de Gortari approached President Bush to negotiate a free trade agreement. A few months later Canada joined the trade negotiations. NAFTA opened the markets between these three nations while retaining a variety of environmental safeguards. Two years prior to NAFTA's passage by Congress in 1993, President Bush released on May 1, 1991 a document, "Plan of Action," under which the United States and Mexico agreed to review their environmental laws to see if they needed any revisions.

The presidential plan received the support of the National Wildlife Federation, the National Audubon Society, the Environmental Defense Fund, and the National Resources Defense Council. However, other environmental groups and policy makers criticized the document, "Plan of Action," because they believed it lacked goals, infrastructure, and specific resources. In order to appease critics, the Salinas administration agreed to allocate $460 million to aid the regulation of air and water pollution in the cities near the Mexico-US border. In addition, the Mexican government hired 200 inspectors to monitor environmental laws. This was four times the number of inspectors the Mexican government employed in 1989. The Mexican government also ordered that 1,455 *maquiladoras* be re-certified by December 31, 1991[1]. The American government, on the other hand, appeased the critics of the "Plan of Action" by promising $241 million to be allocated during the 1992-1993 fiscal year toward environmental protection (Cánovas 1993: 335-39).

The North American Free Trade Agreement

NAFTA is composed of 22 chapters and is referred as the "greenest trade agreement" ever passed. Its principle goal is trade liberalization and, unlike the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) or the basic document governing institutional commerce, NAFTA mentions the word "environment" and has provisions to protect it (Editorial 1993: A-

32). The following are some of the provisions stated in NAFTA to protect the environment. First, NAFTA's preamble declares that its primary objective to be the protection and conservation of the environment. NAFTA's participating nations are committed "to promote sustainable development" and "to strengthen the development and enforcement of environmental laws and regulations." (Anderson 1993: 52). For example, NAFTA has assigned $813 million to improve the water and air quality along the Mexico-US border. Also, the Border Cooperation Commission (BCC) was designed to address the environmental problems along the border. One of the problems is that the toxic waste of foreign industries does not remain in Mexico. In addition, in order to decentralize the industries–and their pollution–along the Mexico-US border, all of Mexico will become a duty free zone (Editorial 1993: A-32). The Mexican government plans to implement a policy of "direct development." This policy will encourage industries to establish themselves in Mexican cities that are better able to absorb industrial activity. Also, these cities will have agencies capable of efficiently enforcing environmental standards.

Second, Article 104 in Chapter 1 guarantees that environmental treaties signed by participating countries will have precedence over their NAFTA obligations. As a result, the agreement does not undermine the environmental laws previously signed by the three participating nations. The treaties signed by these nations and recognized by NAFTA are the following: the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangerment Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, the Montreal Protocol, the 1989 Based Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Waste, the Mexico-US border area environment agreement, and any subsequent international agreement that the nations participating agree to include.

Third, Chapter 7 states that each nation has the right to establish the level of protection it considers necessary to protect human, animal, or plant life within its territories. Also, all three nations have agreed to base their regulations on scientific principles and risk assessments.

Fourth, Chapter 9 requires that all three nations work together to enhance the level of environmental protection. In addition, Chapter 9 requires the establishment of a committee to follow up on issues such as the development and enforcement of standards-related measures, namely, sanctions for polluters. This means that it is highly unlikely that one nation would be successful in challenging another nation's decision to prevent the import of the first nation's products, if those products could be harmful to the national health or its citizens.

Finally, Chapter 11 formally discourages a government from lowering its own environmental standards for the purpose of encouraging trade.

Opponents of NAFTA claim that it will undermine existing legislation

to protect the environment and that it will threaten US environmental sovereignty because it is likely that the US will lower its standards to the lowest common denominator to remain competitive. However, supporters of NAFTA argue that the agreement encourages, and also ensures, that the three participating nations will not lower their environmental standards. In addition, they argue that the US environmental laws will continue to be made and amended by Congress and State Legislators. This means that US sovereignty is not at risk since our country will continue to obey the existing environmental laws and create others when the need arises (Mathew 1993:A-23).

NAFTA's Side Agreements

Aspects of NAFTA that its critics and the Clinton administration felt had not been properly addressed were dealt with in the "side letter agreements" published on August 12, 1993.[2] Three of the clarifications made in the "side letter agreements" are stated below. Under NAFTA, if a nation in its attempt to liberalize trade harms the environment, a separate environmental authority is supposed to address the problem. The "side letter agreements" created the Commission on Environmental Cooperation (CEC) to:

> monitor the implementation of NAFTA's environmental provisions, and provide information on compliance with domestic laws in all three countries, regularly reviewing and recommending improvements in compliance and enforcement... it would [also] help reduce incentives for pollution havens and the issue of different standards on non-tariff trade barriers . . . [its] effectiveness will depend on its degree of true oversight authority and its ability to influence, if not control, the flow of funds for trilateral action. (Runge 1994: 67)

Second, there was the concern that judges would not have enough environmental knowledge to recognize if a nation, in its attempt to increase trade flows, had damaged the environment. For this reason, it was key to address how judges could have access to environmental information that would help them make a fair court decision. As a result, the CEC secretariat maintains a roster of environmental experts separate from the roster of trade experts available to the NAFTA Trade Commission. The goal is that the environmental experts will help determine whether different standards are justified or not (Runge 1994: 68). Third, NAFTA did not establish a committee that would ensure nations did not lower their standards to facilitate trade. The side agreements stipulate that the CEC will serve as this committee. In order to fulfill its duties, the CEC will publish an annual report in which it has evaluated the implementation of NAFTA's environmental provisions and identified those which need to be amended as a result of, for example, changes in the

environment. In addition, the report will point out which countries have been lax in their enforcement or have lowered their environmental standards.

II. The Early Years of NAFTA

La Maldición

NAFTA has been successful in passing legislation to address environmental issues, such as water and air pollution, and bringing attention to the inefficiency of the Mexican government in addressing some of these issues. However, critics of NAFTA believe that the agreement has been a *maldición*–a curse-to Mexico's environmental laws and its territory. They argue that Mexico was not ready to receive the industries brought by trade liberalization. Moreover, critics of NAFTA have stated that the Mexican government has a bad record of environmental enforcement, particularly along the border with the US where many *maquiladoras* industries are located. They contend that as a result of NAFTA, Mexico will become a "haven for polluters" since Mexico has ineffective environmental laws.

It is true that the Mexican government has not been very successful in enforcing environmental action across its border with the US. However, the reason is not that they have been unwilling to tackle environmental issues, but that they lack the required funds to do so. Even though insufficient funds have been problem for the Mexican government, the government has made significant attempts to protect the environment. First, in 1988 Mexico enacted the General Law for Ecological Equilibrium and Environmental Protection, which is modeled on US law. This law provides a basis for environmental regulation and enforcement throughout Mexico. It covers air, water, hazardous waste, pollution, pesticides, and toxic chemicals. Second, since 1991 the fiscal budget for environmental agencies has been 1% of the GNP. The United States, on the other hand, assigns .5% of its fiscal budget to protect the environment (Cánovas 1993: 324). The total amount of money the US spends on the environment is larger than the amount Mexico spends, since the US economy is 20 times larger than the Mexican economy. Third, Mexico was the first country to ratify the Montreal Protocol. It agreed to stop the use of ozone depleting substances, e.g., CFC, by the same deadline as the US–10 years ahead of developing countries. Fourth, in 1991, 1,144 inspectors were hired and 706 industries were closed–56 of these industries were *maquiladoras*. Fifth, the Salinas de Gortari administration ordered several power stations to burn natural gas instead of sulfur. New cars are also being fitted with catalytic converters and drivers are banned from driving one day each week (Grabber 1993: 36). Finally, the Secretariat of Social Development

requires that new industries–public and private–submit an environmental impact statement (EIS) when environmental risk is deemed significant (Runge 1994: 63).

As a result of the passage of NAFTA, the Mexican government has been able to increase its environmental budget. This has been possible because of loans from the World Bank and the North America Development Bank funds. Between these two agencies the Mexican government received $6 billion (Lee 1993: A-01). It was able to spend nearly $500 million to protect the environment across the border: $223 million to build sewage plants, $26 million to construct solid waste disposal facilities, and $44 million to create a border area nature preserve (HufBauer 1992: 135).

Critics of NAFTA still believe that the amount of money the Mexican government and NAFTA have allocated toward cleaning and protecting the environment along the Mexico-US border is not enough. They believe that the environment along the border would have been less polluted and would have retained more of its natural resources if NAFTA had not been passed. First, the Mexican government has pointed out that prior to the passage of NAFTA the *maquiladora* industry was already a booming industry in Mexico. In the 1960s Mexico, like many other under-developed countries, chose development over the protection of the environment when it implemented the *maquiladora* program. Second, many of the industries that have settled along the Mexico-US border have done so not because of its lenient environmental laws but because Mexico has a large pool of cheap unskilled labor. Finally, many economists and environmentalists believe that the increase in trade along the Mexico-US border will be beneficial to the environment since this change in the economy will increase Mexicans' GDP. The logic behind this argument is that individuals who have a GDP of $5,000 demand cleaner air and stricter environmental legislation.

Las Maquiladoras

The *maquiladora* program was implemented in Mexico by presidential decree in 1965 when unemployment rates along the Mexico-US border soared toward seventy percent. (Holland 1997: 1219). The program dictated the border to be a duty free area where export goods could be produced. Most of the *maquiladora* industries that are located along the border are foreign owned and produce mainly exports for the US. In 1966, there were 12 *maquiladoras* that employed 3,000 workers while in 1991 there were 1,925 *maquiladoras* that employed 467,000 workers (Runge 1994: 62-3).

Mexico's lenient environmental laws have not been attracting industries to its border. Rather, it has been Mexico's abundant cheap labor force (Stoddard 1987: 2). As a result, it would be inappropriate to

conclude that industries during the late 1980s and early 1990s were relocating to Mexico solely because it had less stringent environmental laws than the US. First, the cross-country variation in the costs of meeting environmental controls is not so large as to be a factor in the determination of a nation's comparative advantage. For example, it costs industries in the US about 1.1% to obey environmental regulations, while it costs industries in Mexico about 1% of gross revenues. Second, the cost of closing and re-locating is higher than 1.1% of all revenues. Third, Mexico's lenient environmental laws have begun to become tighter since the passage of NAFTA. Lastly, as the economy improves and Mexico becomes a fully industrialized society, it will be able to place more emphasis on environmental concerns.

Mexico's Per Capita Income

Economists like Gene Grossman and Alan Krueger from Princeton believe that the explosive growth of *maquiladoras* will have a positive impact on the environment. They claim that the level of sulfur dioxide increases per capita as income increases. However, at about $5,000 per capita a turning point is reached. At this point, the levels of sulfur dioxide begin to decrease. According to a 1991 study in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Mexico's per capita income is $4,900 (Mahony 1992: 51).

Grossman and Krueger argue that NAFTA can help the Mexican economy grow and reach the $5,000 per capita point, where its citizens will demand cleaner air and can afford the technology that makes it possible. In addition, foreign industries transfer to Mexico modern technology that is cleaner. Also, NAFTA has forced nations to become specialized in what is most cost-effective. In the case of Mexico, these industries are textiles, agriculture and leather goods that produce less pollution than, for example, steel factories.

III. The 5th Anniversary of NAFTA: Promises and Realities

It is still debatable whether or not NAFTA has proved to be a curse to Mexico's environmental politics. The Commission for Environmental Cooperation has stated that currently there is no empirical data to support or deny this notion. In July 1997, a report to Congress by the Clinton Administration stated that NAFTA had begun to reverse decades of environmental neglect and had led to tougher enforcement of Mexican environmental laws ("NAFTA Administrative" 1997). On the other hand, this past fall (1998) the CEC published a study reporting that there has been a drop in pollution across North America. However, the study did

not include Mexico because it has yet to implement the necessary pollution reporting system (Brandon 1998: Business1 Zone C).

Funds

In 1991 Mexico allocated 1% of its GNP to environmental agencies. However, as a result of falling oil prices–which make up one-third of Mexico's revenues–and the devaluation of the *peso*, the federal government has been forced to make deep spending cuts across the board (Brandon 1998: Business 1 Zone C). At this point, the impact of Mexico's unstable economy on the environment cannot be fully assessed.

The North America Development Bank (NADB) was created by NAFTA to clean up pollution along the Mexico-US border, but it proved not to be very effective. NADB denied loans to poor communities needing cleanup loans because of the high risk of non-payments on the loans. It was not until 1996 when the US Environmental Protection Agency awarded NADB a $170 million grant that they were able to make significant effort to cleanup pollution along the border. In January 1999 two landfills were to be completed, eight were under construction and two sewage plants were soon to begin construction (Brandon 1998: Business1 Zone C).

The Maquiladoras

The area along the Mexico-US border has continued to change since *maquiladoras* were first established.[3] The border economy has been transformed from having assembly plants to manufacturing the parts they use, as well as from working class to middle class. There are now firms importing the most sophisticated equipment (Iliff and Corchado 1998: 1-J). For example, between 1994-1996, Mexico received $25 billion in direct investment for plant and equipment. This is the second largest amount channeled to a developing country ever (Calle 1997: 295). In addition, there has been an exponential increase in corporate housing units, natural gas lines, multi-million dollar water projects, and environmental cleanups (Iliff and Corchado 1998: 1-J).

In the past few years, the Mexican government has been encouraging the establishment of *maquiladoras* away from the Mexico-US border, primarily to help reduce the high unemployment rates in areas like Chiapas (Iliff and Corchado 1998: 1-J; Mongelluzo 1998: 14-A). Currently, there are 4,100 registered *maquiladoras* (this number includes small businesses and corporations like Dephi). Approximately, 37 percent are now outside the Mexico-US border compared to 31 percent in 1997 (Fox 1998: Business L-05)[4]. Another factor that explains the shift of *maquiladoras* into the interior of Mexico is that the workforce is getting scarcer and harder to retain as a result of the numerous *maquiladoras* concentrated along the border. For example, the turnover rate along the

border is three-percent compared to the less than one-percent turnover in areas like Yucatán (Fox 1998: Business L-05).

When NAFTA was drafted the Mexican government agreed that by the year 2001 it would bring its *maquiladoras* preferential tariff schedule more in line with those of Canada and the US. This would be done to achieve uniform rates on goods exchanged among the three participating countries. As a result, *maquiladoras* that would use non-NAFTA components parts in 2001 would be less competitive because of a higher tariff structure (Sutter 1998a: 2-A). On Friday, November 13, 1998, Mexican Commerce Secretary, Herminio Blanco, released the first set of new rules affecting the $51 billion *maquiladora* industry.

At this point, one can only speculate what the future holds for the *maquiladora* industry in Mexico. Individuals like Jesús Luis Zúñiga, executive adviser to Sony corporation, argue that the 2001 rules will be the end for *maquiladoras* (Lindquist 1998: Business C-1). One of the reasons is because Mexico's cheap labor force will not be a sufficient incentive for industries to maintain or to continue setting up their plants in Mexico (Lindquist 1998: Business C-1). On the other hand, Secretary Blanco disputes the claims that the *maquiladora* industry will end due to the 2001 adjustment in tariffs. He has stated that his agency will take a company-by-company approach and give NAFTA factories similar benefits to, for example, Asian *maquiladora* industries that cannot find components in the NAFTA region (Sutter 1998a: 2-A; Weiser 1998: 9-A).

Infrastructure Problem

When NAFTA came into effect supporters insisted that new investors along the border would bring additional funds to solve some of Mexico's infrastructure problems, such as: hazardous materials, solid waste, and sewage. Opponents, on the other hand, argued that NAFTA would lead to a downward harmonization of environmental standards along the Mexico-US border. Current projects addressing infrastructure problems in Mexico appear to be an indication of both supporters' and critics' predictions on NAFTA's impact on the environment [5] (Saldaña 1998: B 9).

The International Wastewater Treatment Plant is located in San Diego and will be treating waste disposal from the bordering city of Tijuana. The creation of the plant indicates that there are new available funding sources and that a possible different set of environmental standards might be applied to sewage treatment plants.[6] Lower standards are being considered to help Tijuana cope with the exponential waste that comes along with the new industries.[7] Currently, the EPA and the International Boundary and Water Commission are evaluating treatment methods, such as, complete mixed aeration in order to comply with US environmental standards (Saldaña 1988: B-11).

Mexico and US officials are currently developing a computerized

system that would enable them to keep more accurate records of hazardous waste produced by *maquiladoras*. These plants would have to submit all information regarding chemical substances used as raw materials and the export of toxic residues. In addition, *maquiladoras* would be required to give a five-day warning when transporting waste material back to the US ("U.S. Mexico" 1998).[8]

Environmental Enforcement

The Clinton administration contends that NAFTA has led to an improvement in environmental law enforcement. First, the Mexican government has continued to increase the number of environmental inspectors since 1991. Second, Mexico reported a reduction in serious violations by *maquiladora* facilities from 1993-1996. Third, Mexico has established an environmental auditing program to promote voluntary compliance. As of April 1997, 617 facilities have completed such audits and 404 have signed compliance action plans representing more than $800 million in planned environmental investments ("NAFTA Administrative 1997).

The Mexican government has continued to make efforts to enforce environmental laws but some of NAFTA's regulations are weakening or not furthering Mexico's efforts. First, to protect trade NAFTA permitted a provision to allow companies to sue countries whose pollution regulations hindered profits (Brandon 1998: Business 1 Zone C). For example, Metalclad Corporation, a southern California hazardous-waste disposal business plant, is seeking $900 million in damages for being denied permission to open a landfill in central Mexico (Brandon 1998: Business 1 Zone C). Second, the agreement has not set a uniform standard for all three nations to enforce environmental laws. Instead, it gives non-governmental groups the right to raise complaints to the Montreal-based commission if one of the participating countries is not complying with its environmental laws (Ellingwood 1998: Part A-3). Currently, there are eight cases against Mexico, four against the United States, and eight against Canada pending review by the CEC (Brandon 1998: Business 1 Zone C). It is important to note that all the CEC can do is review the matter and publicize its findings (Ellingwood 1998: Part A-3).

IV. Conclusion

After seven years of NAFTA, it does not appear that it has been a curse to Mexico's environmental politics. Prior to the passage of NAFTA, the Mexico-US border had been a duty-free haven for many industries. It was not until the passage of NAFTA that the Mexican government was modestly successful in implementing sanctions against industries that

violated environmental laws. They had not been successful in the past thirty years mostly because the Mexican government lacked the funds to monitor polluting industries and to develop infrastructure-i.e., sewage treatment plants, etc.-along the Mexico-US border. The passage of NAFTA provided Mexico with the political pressure and funds necessary to develop infrastructure and pollution cleanup projects. However, these improvements have been slow to come.

NAFTA is only seven years old and it is still too early to tell all the benefits or setbacks that the agreement might cause to Mexico's environmental politics. However, one thing that can be said for certain is that without NAFTA it is unlikely that the Mexican government would have been able to achieve the recent improvements, although few, along the border. In addition, *maquiladoras* have brought pollution, funds, and jobs to Mexico but all such things may change by the year 2001.

Notes

1. In 1991, President Salinas was awarded the Earth prize for outstanding environmental statesmanship by the Nobel family and the United Nations (Anderson 1993: 51).
2. According to Holland, the NAFTA side agreements pose little direct threat to lessening the impact of US environmental laws.The provisions seek to preserve or strengthen enforcement of the participating countries domestic environmental laws. As a result, if any dilution of US environmental laws is going to occur, it will likely come through US initiatives (Holland 1997: 1253). An example of US initiative to lower environmental standards is the International Wastewater Plant in San Diego discussed in Section III.
3. Currently, there are a total of 2,952 maquiladora plants, like for example, Delphi, GM, etc. employing 1,000,305 workers according to data published by the Mexican government on November 1998. The textiles apparel sector has the largest number of plants (820, employing 202,572 workers). The electronic sector employs the largest number of workers (253,844 in 469 plants) ("Maquila Employment" 1998).
4. Aha-Yazaki Monterrey has signed an agreement with state and federal authorities to create a trust to build a plant in the state capital of Tuxtla Gutiérrez. The initial investment is $5 million and production is scheduled to begin November 1999. The total investment should reach $15 million and the plant will employ 2,300 workers. The government will put $1.5 million in cash and train workers for the jobs (Sutter 1998b: 4-A).
5. In 1996, the GAO reported that rapid population and economic growth combined with insufficient infrastructure on the Mexican side of the border have contributed significantly to severe water pollution problems on both sides of the border. In its report, GAO recommended the use of gathered environmental data to set health and environmental criteria that will be used to prioritize the areas within the border region most needing infrastructure improvements (Holland 1997: 1247).
6. In September 1998, the North American Development Bank and the Border Environment Cooperation Commission declared that there are 11 clean-up projects totaling $3 billion, mostly for sewage treatment plants. (Chacón 1998: A-10)
7. Tijuana's treatment plants are designed to treat only residential/organic waste and do little to remove industrial waste prior to being discharged onto a beach south of the city. Often this contaminated water travels through the Tijuana river and then into San Diego's waters (Opinion 1998: B-13).
8. *Maquiladoras* are required by US law to return to the US toxic residues that result

from the plants activities. In 1998, it is estimated that of the 60 percent of the 2,000 maquiladoras along the border which produce toxic waste, 15 percent had not returned their residues ("U.S. Mexico" 1998).

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V

Literary Analysis on Alejandro Morales: Male Feminization and Identity Politics

The Brick People: Brick Layering of Female Subjects in Morales' Novel

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> We can respond by saying that one becomes a race or a class subject through the experience of oppression and domination in this country, through a historical relation which is material, economic, interpersonal, and thus social.
> –Rosa Linda Fregoso, "The Discourse of Difference: Footnoting Inequality" (1990)

> When we begin our analysis in this way, we recognize that minority creative expression generally functions as a kind of creative resistance, a challenge to the politics of domination that would render us nameless and voiceless.
> –Alvina Quintana, "Politics, Representation and the Emergence of a Chicana Aesthetic" (1996)

> La historia no deja nunca de amontonar ironías sobre los cadáveres de las viejas creencias.
> –Gerald Martin, "Vista Panorámica"

> Without the reconciliation of ourselves to the community, we cannot invent ourselves.
> –Elaine Kim, Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context (1982)

In her article "Judou–A Hermeneutical Reading of Cross-cultural Cinema" (1991-2), Jenny Kwok Wah Lau refers to movies as texts and rightly points out our difficulties in reading an Asian movie correctly in Western society: "These different explanations of the meaning of the film expose the difficulties and errors that are often made in the cross-cultural reading of a text and call for a theory of reading that can account for the wide divergence of opinion between audiences of the East and West" (3-4). In the case of Chicano literature, not only is the reader/critic possibly reading a text cross-culturally, but also in many cases across gender and class lines. Mario T. García's reading of the novel *The Brick*

People (1988) by Alejandro Morales (b. 1944) is impressive especially in that the former delves deeply into the book's core to underline *its* importance as a working class novel. On the other hand, his ephemeral reading of gender, male/female relationships, and specifically women's actions in the novel, leaves much to be desired. García backhandedly follows Anglo mainstream criticism by alienating Morales' subjectified female characters within a stereotypical linear reading. Converging upon a book which has been read unilaterally and, surprisingly enough, not given much attention by the critics as a text with a feminist orientation, we begin a fresh reading of Alejandro Morales' *The Brick People,* focusing not only on the women of the novel and their possible multiple subject positions, but also on the variant family/couple relationships within non-mainstream communities. Some of these relationships are exemplified in this novel as possible in-depth interpretations from *within* which extrapolate Ervin Goffman's "front-back theory." If we must, as Emily Hicks points out, be or become "border-crossers" in order to understand regional literature in a global context, it is important to give ground to a new critical reading of canonical Chicano texts and sunder the foundation of the encased readings some Chicano literary works have undergone.

Chicano novelist Alejandro Morales' *The Brick People*, brings to us a flash of enlightenment about the new formation of the heterogeneous, complex, female Chicana subject by a male novelist. Small doors open each other up before our eyes to show us corners of thought enclosed within the literary Chicana subject not yet disclosed by a male author. In her article "Unveiling Athena: Women in the Chicano Novel" (1993), Erlinda Gonzales-Berry has previously pointed out Alejandro Morales' attempt to subjectify Chicana voices in an earlier novel:

> In response to the growing awareness of women as full fledged human beings and to the negative criticism aimed at those writers who indulged in the propagation of virgin/mother/whore stereotypes more recent Chicano novelists show a sincere attempt to break away from those limited roles and to portray women of more authentic dimensions. Alejandro Morales' *La verdad sin voz* (1975) is one such novel. In it he very consciously sets out to create some female characters who break away from stereotyped roles. Margarita, for example is a single mother who must make her own way in life. Gone are all the traces of male dependence. Instead she is depicted as a bright young woman, a good worker, in time with her emotional and physical needs . . . (38)

Particularly interesting about this historical novel based on autobiographical facts is that Morales does not overreach but arrives smoothly at the characterization of women in the symbolic discourse, and at the relationships they have with each other and with their children. Initially, the reader is seduced by the story of the White American owners of the Simons Brickyard Factory in Montebello, California. It is not until

chapter six that mention of Nana, the female protagonist of the novel takes place. In chapter eight she is mentioned again, and it is only in chapter ten that we, through Morales' storytelling and fictionalization, become the attentive spectators of the eventful unfolding of the first years of Nana's married life with Octavio Revueltas. From then on until the last chapter, XXIII, Morales uncovers her multifaceted relationship with her mother-in-law and her children.

Goffman and Performance Theory

In analyzing this surreptitious technique of gradually introducing the female protagonist of the novel, we will refer to Erving Goffman's theory of a "front, back reality" which permits a reading of *The Brick People* from a unique benchmark:

> Given a particular performance as the point of reference, we have distinguished three crucial roles on the basis of function: those who perform; those performed to; and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it . . .. The three crucial roles mentioned could be described on the basis of the regions to which the role-player has access: performers appear in the front and back regions; the audience appears only in the front region; and the outsiders are excluded from both regions. (144-145)

Goffman's theory became extremely popular in the sixties in sociology and anthropology circles because he staged Anglo-American culture as a culture of performers. Unfortunately, interdisciplinary approaches were not as common in the 60s as they are today at the height of the exploration of the Other. His theories were not used as cross-overs between sociological theory and literary criticism. I would like to pinpoint that back then we would have also been unable to use his work in analyzing a Chicano text by a male because until Rudy Anaya's *Bless Me Ultima* in 1972, women protagonists were not markedly subjectified by male authors in Chicano literature. Goffman sees: "the real, sincere, or honest performance; and the false one that thorough fabricators assemble for us, whether meant to be taken unseriously, as in the work of stage actors, or seriously, as in the work of confidence men" (70).

From classical Western culture Goffman is only drawing on Shakespeare's idea "the world is a stage" and theorizing around it; however, from the perspective of breaking down observations and judgments about a literature unfamiliar to many, it can be expanded into a theory that "performs" a labor of philanthropy. Although quite useful, Goffman's theory only consists of front/back stage regions:

> Very commonly the back region of a performance is located at one end of the place where the performance is presented, being cut off from it by a partition and guarded

> passageway. By having the front and back regions adjacent in this way, a performer out in front can receive backstage assistance while the performance is in progress and can interrupt his performance momentarily for brief periods of relaxation. (113)

Although he gives the staged actor the possibility of moving from one region to the other, Goffman does not allow him to be in both regions at once nor does his theory provide much variation for the performer, whether the critic be applying it to the waiters and waitresses in a hotel or the customers/clients in a store. If we are indeed all performers, limitations must be lifted from his theory by creating a more expansive theoretical space from which to work with the characters in a novel, for example.

One could problematize Goffman's sociological theoretical framework to create four categories of the "front back reality": front-front, front-back, back-front, back-back. Metaphorically, we could see that Morales shows us initially what could have been life in southern California at the turn of the century, for mainstream Americans, that is, from a perspective of front-front spectatorship: a land welcoming to White Americans who disowned their Eastern past for one reason or another and followed the yellow brick road of entrepreneuring into riches and servants who were called Mexican workers. Then we find out about the Simons' "back reality": the family tragedies which escalate as a result of lack of communication within the family. The back-front reality is represented both in Walter Simons' trip to pre-revolutionary Mexico to learn about the *hacienda* system and in the lives of people, like Gonzalo and other workers, that we only get to see from the outside. We never get to know much of what Gonzalo's wife, Pascuala, thinks or what Amalia, his lover, expects from him and from society. The back-back reality is what makes this novel distinct from many others, particularly those that do not quite show the life of Chicanos viewed by Chicanos. In his article entitled: "History, Literature, and the Chicano Working-Class Novel: A Critical Review of Alejandro Morales' *The Brick People*" (1990), Mario T. García diligently addresses the historical facets of this novel in their socio-political context and attests that *The Brick People* is in fact working-class, as opposed to proletarian literature. The one issue García fails to address appropriately and which we will discuss thoroughly in this paper is the subjectification of female characters by Morales.

Reinscribing Chicana History

The first time we see the Chicana subject is when the factory workers recall the previous existence of Doña Eulalia Pérez, a rich Mexican landowner whom Morales resurrects historiographically. Eulalia Pérez

actually existed, and her personal writings from 1877 are stored in Berkeley's Bancroft Library. That the Mexican workers knew about her and acknowledged her power is a recounting of California history. This act of subversion of mainstream history is what Michel Foucault would call the popular or counter-memory of Chicanas(os): the existence of a rich land-owning widow in the Chicano subconscious via Alejandro Morales' storytelling and fiction. Nonetheless, Doña Eulalia Pérez is not the only rich and powerful Chicana that appears in the novel. The narrator brandishes the presence of La Señora Eliola García[1] Pardo, a woman who in 1924 comes to Malaquías, Nana's father, to offer him land:

> "Good afternoon, Malaquias," señora Garcia Pardo said, offering her hand and smiling. "Malaquias, the Japanese have left. We can't count on them. The majority of my land is empty and there is no one to attend it. Some day this land will be worth much money. Well, then, for being an excellent worker and for knowing how to treat the land, you can say I have come to offer you ten acres of virgin land. Stay, Malaquias, work the land and you will become rich." By the time señora Garcia Pardo had finished delivering her offer, she had circled Malaquias' truck and perused the ranch. "I can't buy that land. I barely have enough to feed my family," Malaquias answered candidly as she went to the door of her automobile. "Five thousand dollars is nothing, Malaquías. Think about it. Try to get the money. Let me know in a week." Señora Garcia Pardo closed the door and sped off into the edge of the afternoon. Malaquias spent the next four days planning how to get the five thousand dollars, but no one could guarantee the money without enormous cost. He wanted the land, but had to admit that it was impossible to purchase it honorably. (136-7)

By bringing out this very important incident in *The Brick People*, Morales succeeds in doing two things at once. His previous item of inscribing a land owning Chicana, Doña Eulalia Pérez, into the consciousness of the reader is followed up by a double discourse–the second item in the narrative agenda–which exposes racism in California at the turn of the century and reiterates that other Chicanas also owned and managed land at the time, and perhaps had to give it up because of the racially motivated incidents that surrounded them. Racism against the Japanese in the early twenties is specifically addressed. The Japanese, who had tended the land, left as a result of the terrorism instigated against them by White Americans. Morales uncovers in this way the social situation of Asian immigrants and African-Americans in the Los Angeles area. By disclosing the case of the Japanese, the narrator projects some of the fear immigrants underwent at the time:

> The sun played hide and seek with the rising gray pallor that streaked the early morning sky. In a matter of hours, from one day to another, life had radically changed. Malaquias, Lorenza, Paquita, Nana, Jesus and Andrea smelled the smoldering remains of the Matola home. As he walked through the ashes, Malaquias pondered why the forces that ejected the Japanese had not struck him.

> Obviously, he would be next. The Japanese had been there for years, doing good work, and unbelievably all that remained of their existence was black ash that the wind would spread into the fields. (136)

The immigrants' possessions become the fertilizer for the land, just as Eulalia's body is reincarnated into ants.

In their paper "The Female Hero in Chicano Literature" (1985), Carmen Salazar Parr and Genevieve M. Ramírez intelligently quote Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope who rightly observe: "until the heroic experience of all people–racial minorities and the poor as well as women-has been thoroughly explored, the myth of the hero will always be incomplete and inaccurate" (47). The experience of Malaquías and Nana as well as that of the Japanese in Los Angeles in 1929 had not yet been an heroic experience, because it had not been "told." Morales' uncovering of these historical facts that include minorities and women in southern California does precisely what Pearson and Pope point out: an "heroic experience." Japanese ashes are difficult to manipulate. Until we recreate through literature and history the human beings that are represented by all the ashes Morales' characters encounter, we cannot create a hero. As a symbolic image, ashes are but one of the elements that combine with dialogue, fiction, literature, and fact to re-write history. Genaro Padilla reminds us of this in his recently published book, *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography (1993)*, where he recovers nineteenth-century Chicana lives.

Ashes and Tears

The previous passages quoted from the book in which we discuss the burning of Japanese-tended farms in California is not the first time the image of ashes appears as a metaphorical motif in Morales' *The Brick People*. Appearing for the first time in another racially related incident where violence between two Chinese fraternal organizations hurts a few White people and ends in the deaths of hundreds of Chinese, they reoccur throughout the novel. In chapter I the Simons Brickyard workers-observes the narrator–find the bodies of hundreds of Chinese who were massacred by Whites:

> The killing continued after Sheriff Burns returned with help. He organized a law-and-order group and attempted to dissuade bands of looters, rapists and murderers. In each case, only after the criminals had done their evil deed did they disband. When morning broke, the streets were abandoned except for the hundreds of dead Chinese . . . The City of Los Angeles had shown little concern for the Chinese even at the most brutal moments during the massacre. (23)

Joseph Simons, the owner of the brick factory, orders the bodies to be burned so the land can continue to be used for brick production: "The

cadavers had to be eradicated, reduced to gray ashes .... By late afternoon Joseph Simons got his wish. The only physical evidence left of the dead were five mounds of ash, blown away that evening by a strong warm wind that came from the east and flew to the sea" (24). This passage is touching not only because it documents the injustice but it shows the only people that mourn this genocide are the Mexican women, wives of the Simons Mexican factory workers: "As the mounds grew so did the flowers that the women were bringing to surround the heaps of bone and leathered flesh. From a distance, sobbing women with playful children gathered to pray the rosary. They mourned for the unknown dead, for the loss that had never been recognized" (24). In this passage by the narrator, women create and heal as men destroy and suffer in silence; both burn their work to combine it with the ashes of the Chinese cadavers, theosophically being reborn through the ashes:

> As men placed logs and fuel on the heaps of cadavers, the women brought more flowers and doilies, quilts, mantillas, aprons and tablecloths. When finished the crematoriums appeared to be multi-chromatic mountains of flowers... An explosive hissing sound competed with the chorus of women praying the rosary. (24)

While it is easy for Westerners to applaudingly justify paying 120 dollars to speak and cry with a counselor or psychotherapist, usually White and male, to "take care of themselves" and their families, the tears of the Mexican women in *The Brick People* are easily overlooked by the critics. Easily, devalued tears, prayers, and embroidery become perhaps less important to the general reader than banners, words, digging or building. On the other hand, a good example of Chicana/o literature that clearly values the many things women are called upon to implement within their diversified experiences is Viola Correa's poem "La Nueva Chicana" (1970s) in which the Poetic I subjectifies the militant Chicana:

> ¡Hey!
> See that lady protesting against injustice,
> es mi mamá
> That girl in the brown beret,
> The one teaching the children
> she's my hermana
> Over there fasting with the migrants
> es mi tía
> The lady with the forgiving eyes
> listen to her shout. (7)

This poem clearly exemplifies a sensitivity that gives credit to the unavoidable acts of resistance not materially tactile like "fasting" and "forgiving." It also highlights the void in Mario T. García's analysis of women in *The Brick People*. We will delve into its reductionism as we

continue to analyze this valuable novel through some of its motifs.

A third episode that involves ashes is not, as Malaquías predicted, the burning or terrorism against his own home or himself, but against his daughter Nana many years later. The narrator cleverly ties this to a thought Nana's son, Javier, has as he arrives at the fire in which his parents' home is burning: "As his steps turned into a fast run, he saw the progress of physical matter, the scientific advances, the blinding flash over Hiroshima" (277). The White Americans in fact allowed, according to the narrator, the Revueltas home to burn: "Nana, concerned with her children, was left alone again in the night, . . . Her dreams of the future had melted into the ashes of what was once her home" (288). The person who lights all the fires that produce ashes, destructively transculturating without his control into rebirth, is Walter Simons: "Walter–observes the narrator–lit the man's cigarette and then his own and walked away, leaving footprints and ashes on his father's grave" (73). Most fires in the novel are ordered, lit, or caused by a Simon's family member. It is directly or indirectly a Simons that prevents the firemen from putting out the fire that takes Nana and Octavio's home: "Why did they come to the edge of the barranca? Someone stopped them at the last moment, someone from Montebello and someone from Simons . . ." (272). The ash metaphor ends with the closing of the novel, where a bundle of wood will be converted into a home. The implied new structure represents the rebirth of all previously burned matter, homes, and people: "Arturo had untied–says the narrator–the bundle of wood and separated it by lengths. He stood proudly before his father, silently telling him that the wood was ready for cutting and that they should begin building their new home" (318).

Males and Difficult Chicana Voice

In the following quote Ramón Saldívar eloquently discloses the difficult task male critics have in interpreting women's literature:

> As crucial as an understanding of these theoretical presuppositions is for the interpretation of Chicano texts in general, a self-conscious analysis of our own interpretive methods becomes even more important for the male critic as he tries to read texts by women authors. (173)

The same applies to the male author who writes with the voice of a female subject. Morales undertakes the very difficult task of voicing women's subject positions through their actions and their participation in family life and community. As we have stated previously, women are not the only voiceful minority that appears in *The Brick People*, although they do represent the only subjectified reality-the ones with a voice. Chinese and Japanese people as well as African-Americans are talked about and

their oppressive reality is historically fairy-taled, however, they do not become subjects as do Chicano women. Mexican women are the ever-loving healers of this community, during the pre-and post-Depression periods, a very difficult time for most working class people in the United States.

Ramón Saldívar and other critics have engaged in a discourse that enunciates the difficulties that writers may encounter in trying to build on a reality that has not yet perhaps been exposed to its fullest: "Chicano narrative is not content with merely reproducing the world but also to reveal the ideological structures by which we continue to create the world" (Saldívar 9). It is with this Saldívar cultural preamble in mind that one can attempt to read the many levels of meaning inscribed in Morales' novel. Eulalia Pérez not only represents the rich female who subverts the predestined path that the workers' wives of Simon's Brick Factory must undertake, she also births thoughts about recyclable matter deep within the reader. Her body represents, even as she dies, a rebirth by establishing a space for Chicanos in California. This provides a metaphorical enclosure of the land initially available to them. It is by allowing Doña Eulalia's transformation into ants that one both spreads her into smaller particles and reincarnates her into an earth form that will prevail. Declares the narrator:

> The man in the pit looked at his feet and saw hundreds of indescribably large brown insects. The insects began to crawl onto his pant legs. Many people were paralyzed. Others ran screaming that the Doña had turned into millions of insects. Horror choked the people as they watched the insects overtake them, spread out and cover El Rincón de San Pascual. (13)

Since he has contributed tremendously to the contemporary development of the Chicano Social Sciences, Mario T. García ironically critiques Morales' treatment of the female subject in the novel *The Brick People*:

> Morales at the same time regrettably does not provide his female characters with an alternative search for empowerment outside the traditional and patriarchal structures in which they live. They resent the sexist treatment they receive at the hands of their husbands–the double standard–but they do not rebel to overthrow such confining and oppressive relations. (198)

On the other hand, while perusing an African history book by Paul Bohannan and Philip Curtin, *Africa and Africans* (1988), I arrived at a parallel perspective with Margarita B. Melville's short literary study of the Chicano family that appeared in *Understsanding the Chicano Experience Through Literature* (1981), a monograph:

> It occurs to me that the stability and endurance of the family in Mexican American society rests much more on the parent-child relationship than it does in the

husband-wife relationship. "Mi familia," is it primarily my husband (or wife) and my children? Or is it my mother, father, grandparents, brothers and sisters, and children, oh, yes! and my husband! (45)

How can we limit a Chicano author, who merely delves into one of his subject positions, the one closest to the mainstream cultural ideology, for the purpose of prescribing his writing about family in an Anglo mainstream politically correct manner? Or could it be that in our materialist, feminist, Marxist readings of Chicana(o) literature we have forgotten heterogeneity and diversity within our own very personal definition of family?

A Family Beyond Parameters

In revising the way Chicana family relationships have been read by the critics, it is imperative that we look at other possible expansions of how the back-back writer, in this case a Chicano who writes about Chicana women and men, may subconsciously portray relationships between family members beyond parameters explored by most readers and critics of their literature. Both Milagros and Nana, the main female protagonists of *The Brick People,* seem to have closer relationships with their children and with each other than they do with their husbands. Since that does not seem to bother the characters, one could possibly believe this to be part of their value system regarding husbands. Melville's aforementioned study explores parent-child relationships in several canonical texts and shows various combinations and values that appear in Chicano literature.

In *The Brick People* Nana criticizes her mother Lorenza because she is "unable to defend her own children from their father" (139). Nana was the target of his anger, his accusations, and his failures. Due to such attacks and heavy stress she never explained menstruation to her daughters. Nonetheless, Nana "forgives her mother for not being strong enough to defend the rights of her daughters" (209). Before Nana and Octavio eloped they attempted to get permission for marriage from Nana's father several times and both dreamt of having children: "The gleam was hope for the children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren they hoped for and were seeing at that moment" (149). When Maximiliano, one of Octavio's brothers, is sick everybody cares for him, even Nana, who is his sister-in-law and lives in a separate house. After his death, his mother continues to daydream under the apricot tree in their backyard about her son: "Often, Milagros sat underneath the tree and thought about her life and her son Maximiliano" (295).

The relationship with Damian, her husband, is less important to her than the relationship to her children: "The crusty, strong, sixty-six-year-old-observes the narrator-moved toward Milagros and touched her shoulder. She froze, surprised by the rare caress. Milagros dried the last

dish and concluded that his concern was not for her, but for Octavio. Damian moved to the door and nodded at the man he had conceived and for whom he would willingly die to save from death" (301). This relationship with the children seems to be an acceptable life style for Milagros. Damian, her husband, also wishes for more closeness with his son, not with her: "Damian left, wishing that Octavio had kissed his hand" (300). Although the couples are found alone in bed or out for a walk making decisions, they are also often found individually in the company of a daughter or son: "Octavio, Nana, Micaela, Arturo, Javier, and Flor had confidence in themselves, and each in his own mysterious way was confident that the family would survive. Nana held the baby against her heart. She sat with Micaela in the back seat of Arturo's immaculate car. Octavio quietly sat in front with his oldest son. They drove off and left Javier and Flor to ride the bicycle back to Uncle Asunción's" (286). The mother-son relationships are complex, but they are definitely not mainstream White American: "Arturo did not like his mother working so hard for all of them" (305); "Octavio walked alongside his mother, partly angry that the work on the house had been interrupted and partly relieved that his mother had finally forced him to visit Doña Marcelina" (301).

Putting Women Last?

In his study of *The Brick People* Mario T. García does exactly what he accuses Alejandro Morales of doing: he puts women last. His analysis of women in the novel could easily be stigmatized as an afterthought. Amazingly enough, after a detailed, comprehensive study of the book he almost haphazardly writes a paragraph about the "Brick Women," just before his two-paragraph conclusion. Within the politically correct parameter, he traditionally states in his opinion what Morales has failed to do in referring to the "Brick Women" he says: "They resent the sexist treatment they receive at the hands of their husband–the double standard–but they do not rebel to overthrow such conforming and oppressive relations" (198).

In fact, García skipps over chapter thirteen of the novel where Milagros and Nana conspire, so observes the narrator, to undermine Octavio's desire to stay in his parent's home:

> Milagros appeared carrying a large chair. She put it down and sat in it to rest. Milagros rose, holding the chair behind her and asked Nana to open the door of the house so that she might find her a permanent place. Milagros found the chair a comfortable niche next to the wood-burning stove in the kitchen. The location was perfect. She found four small indentations in the wooden floor, as if a chair had stood there before. Milagros communicated to Nana that from that chair in that place she would always be with her, and that if Nana ever needed her advice she would only have to sit in the chair, a simple oak straight-back chair which

> now meant so much to Nana and Milagros. Nana placed her hand on the back of the oak rest and Milagros transfigured to herself, embraced her daughter-in-law and her woman child. Nana had now become the true center of her family. (184)

Later in the same chapter, Milagros' son Octavio comes storming in and angry because Nana had not told him that she had made the decision to move next door and have the rent money deducted from his paycheck; however, instead of being supportive of her son, Milagros tells him when he asks angrily where Nana is: "At her house, Octavio." Milagros pronounced the sentence with a secret feeling of triumph and pride for Nana. Moreover, she "pointed next door" (185). It is this kind of support between mother and daughter-in-law that we find throughout the last chapters of *The Brick People.* How can this very common, uplifting relationship between mother and daughter-in-law, which shows female solidarity in some Chicano homes and is expressed in this novel, have escaped Mario T. García? Paulo Freire would say: "the oppressed oppress." I would like to add that it is quite disturbing to watch historians arrive, from a history of resistance, with blinders. García goes on to say later in his same, and only paragraph dedicated to women: "This is not to suggest that Morales should have depicted these women as feminists" (199).

A Distinct Feminist Discourse

However, Morales does incorporate a distinctive feminist discourse within the characterization of the "Brick Women." Morales' sensitivity uncovers for the reader a very unique relationship between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. The latter almost unconditionally supports the former in her endeavors to emancipate herself from the family home and establish her own quarters. Here I call attention to the fact that we are referring to working-class women in the 1930s during the nation's Great Depression. Also, between 1910 and 1930 over one million Mexicanos and Mexicanas migrated northward (Ruiz 109). These immigrant women were at the bottom of the financial ladder. They could not risk ending a relationship because they did not like the way their husband thought. Incorporating today's values of emancipation and liberation does not lead to a favorable feminist analysis of a book portraying a reality fifty years back in history. This is not to say that these women were not feminists. All women are feminists in their own right. And if we follow our theory about a mother's relationship with her children being more important than a "good" relationship with her husband, the father becomes less important-decentralized within the family.

According to the information found in Vicki Ruiz's article "Star Struck: Acculturation, Adolescence, and the Mexican American Woman, 1920-1950" (1993), Nana's life is not unusual: "Many young Mexican women

never attended high school . . . they gave family needs priority over individual goals" (111). What is unusual both today and in the past in mainstream society is to have a mother and daughter-in-law support each other so much–the back-back reality Alejandro Morales brings to light. I am especially impressed with this because I have not seen it projected so strongly neither in literature written by Chicanas nor in studies by Chicana critics. Not only is Alejandro Morales writing from a cross-cultural perspective since his novel is published in English and the targeted population is English-speaking, but perhaps, more importantly, from a cross-gender perspective which features the voices of Chicana women at the turn of the century.

Women are in the narrator's eyes the only characters in the novel not fooled by modern technology:

> When Damian handed the photograph to Milagros, she first studied it. The family waited anxiously to hear Milagros' reaction to the image. She handed the black-and-white back to Damian. "Do you like it, Damian?" Milagros asked calmly. "Don't you?" Damian retorted, somewhat surprised "Well, no," Milagros began. "It is a photograph filled with repression. The men are stiff, tense, as if they were dead, all with hats on. The serious faces are faces of fear or hate. Very few of the men are smiling. It is a photograph of sad prisoners, of tired slaves. Of men angered for being where they are at. As if they are forced to do what they do, not want to do.
>
> She moved the photograph closer to Damian before continuing. "Look at yourself. How do you look? Don't tell me that is the face of a happy man. I don't like the photograph because it is the result of a machine that reduces men. It makes them tiny; it squashes them and smears them on a piece of paper. And that way we cannot embrace them." Milagros stood up slowly and walked to the stove. (126)

Pascuala Pedroza, who has no voice according to Mario T. García, shares a similar dislike of the official photograph her husband shows her:

> Gonzalo, you look tired, completely drained. It's because you work day and night. That is not right, Gonzalo. The children miss you at home. All these men are tired of working. There are many men, Gonzalo, few smiles. They seem to be covered with dust. You can have your photography; it is an exercise of another world. (127)

These are in fact women theorizing about how technology minimizes woman and mankind. It is important, in grounding our theory about children being placed under a different value system than men, that Pascuala tells her husband, in the above quote not, "I need you at home," but instead, "[t]he children miss you at home." Instead of being fooled or delighted by the technology, these women both prefer reality to its reproduction. They are not alien to the fact that the photograph is exposing their exploitation.

These women do not represent the images of fallen, submissive,

powerless women (Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad)*, whose only joy is to wait for their husbands at home, without enjoying their metaphysical and spiritual powers. That would be too little to expect both from them and from Alejandro Morales. The women of *The Brick People* give orders: "Put the baby in the crib and give your daughter a kiss because she is going to bed, Tati ordered" (194). They judge, they pray, they heal, they cry, they do not always forgive, and at times they refuse to have sex: "For years Milagros–observes the narrator–had not allowed Damian to touch her" (113). Most of all, the Chicanas support each other: "Both women sat comfortably in a common space and enjoyed one another in silence" (261). In the last chapter, while he is waiting for his son Arturo to bring the wood he has asked him to carry, Octavio reflects upon his childhood, his life on both sides of the border, and all his encounters with women who helped his family along the way: "Thank God for those women" (312). Strangers on both sides–shows the narrator–protect and help his family and they are all women with voices: "Nearby stood a woman with her daughters and they began to shout that he better not shoot me, and they verbally attacked him because perhaps they did not like him" (315). Women are not stereotypical in Morales' *The Brick People* and they are not afraid to shout or speak their minds.

Conclusion

Positioning myself under the many confluent theoretical voices in current Chicano criticism, I must, remembering Harold Bloom, also add: "poems . . . are neither about 'subjects' nor about themselves: They are necessarily about other poems" (Bloom 18). Alejandro Morales' novel does not stand alone; it rests on a body of Chicano literature and criticism that has evolved as a result of having women and men struggle, bilingually and biculturally, to support a Chicana feminist movement, without having lavished literary effort in vain. Feminine subjectivity by Chicano writers is still a diamond to be cut into a multi-faceted gem signifying multiple voices and variations in family and other relationships. This can only happen through a postmodern approach that calls for the participation of all disciplines to deconstruct the many discursive puzzles that sculpt Chicanas.

Notes

1. Although we follow the written accent rules in Spanish and put an accent on the "i" in the word García, and others, the novel *The Brick People* does not do the same. All the

quotes used in this paper from *The Brick People* are from the 1992 edition published by Arte Público Press.

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Rethinking Chicana/o Identity and Nationalism in the Fiction of Alejandro Morales

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In his study of Chicana/o narrative, Ramón Saldívar explores the dialectical tensions inherent in any conceptualization of identity, arguing, "Identity is a contradiction; it is, in Adorno's terms, 'non-identity under the aspect of identity'" (174). Following Adorno, Saldívar insists upon a recognition of "the otherness within the self and the incessant presence of the self in the other" as he demonstrates how the dialectical nature of Chicana/o fiction "works to undo not only the presumptive permanence and sovereignty of abstract binary oppositions, but of decidedly material bodily forms as well" (174-5). The fiction of Alejandro Morales fits perfectly within this Chicana/o literary tradition. Saldívar identifies in its dialectical treatment and problematizing of the concept of a fixed and pristinely unified identity. While working within this tradition, Morales also creatively extends and redirects this dialectics of identity and difference in his fiction. In this paper, I will discuss his novel *La Verdad sin Voz* (*Death of an Anglo*; 1979) which I believe, unprecedentedly in the history of Chicana/o fiction, interrogates what is perhaps one of the most profound and tenacious binary oppositions informing Chicana/o political discourse, that between the categories of Chicana/o and Anglo.

The question of identity dominates Morales' novelistic meditations on Chicana/o history, politics, and life. Asked in an interview if he, like one of his characters in his novel *Reto en el Paraíso (1983)*, denies his "Chicanidad," Alejandro Morales addressed the question of identity more generally, responding,

> The question of identity is still crucial to young people and to us, and I think it's a question that is not only a Chicano question but an Anglo American, so-called dominant culture, question.
>
> They are also dealing with identity. We live in an area where we are always

> questioning identity. It is no longer fixed, it is no longer one thing; identity is something flexible, something that is changing . . . and we have to realize that. It isn't something specific to a particular culture. To certain people it's an important issue because the so-called dominant culture has made all the efforts to break down other's identity. To me the whole question of identity could be a trap. We can spend the rest of our lives trying to define and answer the question Who are we? and go nowhere; and find at the very end that we are still asking the same question. It could be a dangerous question to be caught up in and hung up, bound by identity. (Gurpegui 8)

Morales' response here opens up several crucial issues regarding identity and politics which he treats with complexity in his literary works. In *The Brick People* (1992), for example, while the novel provides a fictional rendering of the history of Mexican labor and (im)migration in California and thus traces the historical forces underwriting the development of Chicano identity, it also diagnoses the dangers of constructing that identity too narrowly such that it might become politically entrapping and immobilizing. In an early scene in the novel, for instance, the narrator depicts a massacre of Chinese immigrant workers in which Mexican workers participated with Anglos. This historical scene cautions against a restrictive and inflexible sense of racial and national identity which would discourage alignment with other racially oppressed and exploited peoples who might share common interests and which would thus work counterproductively to those very political interests which an historically based identity formation is meant to anchor, clarify, and direct. Indeed, one of the predominant thematics of *The Brick People* is the need for a broader Third World working-class coalition to challenge racial oppression and class exploitation on a global basis, as indicated in an early narrator's passage in which Joseph Simons worries about the possibility of labor unrest in his brickyard given the emergence of social movements across the globe: "In different parts of the world social movements threatened to destroy established world powers. Brown men nibbled at portions of the British and Spanish colonies. In the United States, a unionism became stronger and urged labor to fight for fair pay and improved working conditions. Unions and radical socialists compared the situation of exploited workers in Latin America, Africa, and Asia to laborers in the United States and urged the people to guard against unjust treatment" (16-17). This passage, as well as the novel as a whole, can be read as a gesture against the contemporary splintering of racial identity groups which were once politically united and a Third World coalition.

Related to, though not identical with, the thematics of identity developed in *The Brick People* is the issue of Anglo American identity raised in his provocative response in the interview excerpted above. While typically issues of identity, particularly within the discourse of identity politics, center on oppressed peoples, seldom do we see the identity of the

oppressor treated as an issue. Morales' brings the theme of the dominant culture's question of identity and its political relays into clear view in his novel *Death of an Anglo*. In this novel it is the Anglo doctor Michael Logan, not the "Chicano" characters, who becomes the effective voice and agent of a Chicano politics and action based in the movement's original agenda of a Third World anti-imperialist working-class struggle. By this rather unique centering and interrogation of "Anglo" identity through his character Michael Logan, Morales' novel explores the relation, non-correspondence, and incompatibility of the various and contradictory ways in which identity is discussed and theorized as racial identity, political identity, or cultural identity. In particular, the novel highlights the non-identity or non-alignment of "racial" identity, in historical and social terms, and political identity, dramatizing the ways in which one's affiliation with a racialized group does not automatically translate into a privileged and politicized consciousness of one's objective political interests. This means also that an Anglo living in the U.S. might not buy into U.S. patriotic jingoism and be politically aligned with the racial oppression and imperialist domination that marks the history and informs the contemporary maintenance of the U.S. nation-state. Indeed, in her theoretical interrogation of identity politics, Diana Fuss queries, "Is politics based on identity, or is identity based on politics?" (Fuss 100). For Morales, in *Death of an Anglo*, political commitment and action takes precedence over the question of identity, echoing his concern above that "we can spend the rest of our lives trying to define and answer the question Who are we? and go nowhere." Written in 1979, the novel can be read as an effort to rethink the centrality and meaning of identity in Chicano politics and to reformulate the relations between race, agency, action, and political commitment with a view toward rebuilding a political culture of coalition. I have briefly touched already on the workings of this theme in his later novel *The Brick People*. In this paper my discussion of these themes will focus on Morales' employment of these themes in his earlier *Death of an Anglo*.

In the spirit of what I take to be Morales' cultural orientation toward a broad Third World internationalist political perspective, I want to be begin my exegesis of *Death of an Anglo* with a brief comparison of the Morales' novel with Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940), an African-American novel that shares common cultural and political concerns with *Death of an Anglo* with regard to the politics of nationalism and the role of the Anglo intellectual and activist. At one moment during his flight from police and vigilantes in *Native Son*, the protagonist Bigger Thomas reflects, through the narrator, on the possibility for both escape from and understanding of his situation as an exploited and oppressed racial minority in the U.S. racial capitalist system, engaging in a brief utopian

wonder: "Why should not this cold white world rise up as a beautiful dream in which he could walk and be at home, in which it would be easy to tell what to do and what not to do? If only someone had gone before and lived or suffered or died—made it so that it could be understood! It was too stark, not redeemed, not made real with the reality that was the warm blood of life. He felt that there was something missing, some road which, if he had once found it, would have led him to a sure and quiet knowledge" (279). Of course, this passage is a key index of Wright's own literary method and of the function Bigger's character is to serve in the politics of the novel. Bigger is to be the very martyr he himself yearned for who will live, suffer, and die, going before other African Americans to show them the road to a sure and quiet knowledge. He becomes Wright's avatar of a political theory based in the dual imperatives of Marxism and Black nationalism as outlined in his famous essay "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937). What spurs Bigger's development of political consciousness in the novel, though, is the Jewish Communist lawyer Boris Max.

I begin with this scene from *Native Son* because it serves as both an apt comparison and contrast to Alejandro Morales' *Death of an Anglo* in which the theme of political martyrdom, or of martyrdom as the sign and meaning of political commitment, is also central both thematically and methodologically; and also because in each novel it is a white character who is key in inciting the development of this national and class consciousness. In *Death of an Anglo*, it is the "Anglo" doctor Michael Logan, who commits himself professionally and politically to serving the Chicano community in Mathis, Texas and who dies the martyr's death for his political commitment to the Chicano community and its struggles for justice. The theme emerges early in the novel when the young intern Logan accuses Leroy Hales, who had previously serviced Mathis but left under pressure and violence from the Anglo community there, of fleeing out of fear for himself. Hales responds, "Of course I was. I don't want to be a martyr and die for nothing. Once I'm dead, what can I do? The martyrs are the idiots of the world, they shed their blood so that others come out ahead, to make the sacrifices easier" (87). Just as Bigger's death is a sacrifice intended to make other African Americans come out ahead and to realize the national dimensions of their existence as an internally colonized people in the U.S., so is Logan's death in Morales' novel. Interestingly, for Wright, Max is seen as insufficiently comprehending Bigger's position and nationalist consciousness at the end of the novel for which Bigger is martyred. Yet for Morales it is the "Anglo" who is not only the highest form of consciousness in the novel but also the martyr. On the other hand, what does it mean, in terms of and for the politics of self-determination informing the original politics of the Chicano movement, that Morales' martyr is an "Anglo"? Given that, as Carlos Muñoz argues,

"to a large degree, the movement was a quest for identity, an effort to recapture what had been lost through the socialization process imposed by U.S. schools, churches, and other institutions" (61), what is Morales' novel, written in 1979, suggesting about the politics of identity that in part defined the Chicano Movement? And, as a revolutionary novel, how was it trying to and how can it redirect Chicano politics and a politics of liberation more broadly for the contemporary moment? In this paper I will explore Morales' reassertion and rethinking of the Chicano movement's original politics of resistance to the racial and class oppression of internal colonization with particular respect to what in contemporary parlance is referred to as identity politics.

Originally published in 1979 in Spanish as *La Verdad sin Voz*, Morales' novel critiques and even indicts the emergence of a middle-class politics of individual upward mobility within a broadly conceived "Chicano" identity that departs from the original principles of the movement which stressed the working-class identity and politics of Chicano nationalism. Morales' novel serves as a meaningful cultural intervention into the contemporary politics of anti-racist struggle that can provide useful models and correctives in mapping strategies to challenge racist policies. *Death of an Anglo* is rooted in yet offers a critique of the Chicano movement and rethinks cultural and political consciousness and identity. In the novel, Morales accomplishes a radical retheorizing of identity and identity politics through a novelistic reconceptualization of the relations between identity and otherness in terms of race, class, and gender, experience and totality, and nationalism and internationalism. Morales' novelistic recasting of identity and political agency represents a significant intervention into the Chicano literary genre which has for the most part been thematized and cast as the cultural search for identity underwriting the Chicano movement of the 1960s, which was itself "a quest for a new identity and for political power" (Muñoz 15). Indeed, as Juan Bruce-Novoa wrote in 1982, "Chicano literature, as most people use the term, is that which is associated with a new consciousness of political, social, and cultural identity linked to the Chicano movement" (1982: 3). Morales, however, redirects these political concerns away from an emphasis on cultural identity and toward a reinvigoration of political commitment to the revolutionary transformation of racial patriarchal capitalism, to the politics of national and class struggle based in a theorized resistance to capitalist imperialism both internally and internationally.

One of the central plots of the novel involves the criss-crossing trajectories of the "Anglo" doctor, Logan, who foregoes the certain wealth promised by his profession and instead commits himself to serving an impoverished Chicano community in Texas, and of the "Chicano" doctor, Pato Martínez, who chooses to join a lucrative private practice and turns

his back on the needs of the Chicano community. This plot structure highlights the novel's foremost preoccupation with the role and fate of the intellectual and professional in anti-capitalist and anti-racist movements, particularly with the Chicano intellectual and professional when she/he is no longer motivated by the necessity of poverty–a question raised through the characters of Pato Martínez and the university professor Eutemio Morenito. Will the intellectual be tempted by the security and comfort of bourgeois life and wealth? And will, hence, the intellectual's commitment to radical political action and social change wane when he/she recognizes that economic success and prestige in one's profession require, as Morales represents it, foregoing one's revolutionary political values and adopting the useless and insidious values of the dominant culture? Unlike those suffering from the poverty and violence which racism, as a function of capitalism and imperialism, implies–that is, those whose choice is either to suffer or fight back–the central characters in this novel–Logan, Eutemio Morenito, and Pato Martínez–have the choice to escape to a life of relative wealth and privilege and not look back. This set of alternatives is articulated in the novel most clearly by Logan, who questions the purity of his own motives as well as the sanity of them when he could be leading the easy life, that is, practicing his trade as a physician in a safe and comfortable environment. After just purchasing a motorcycle, he is driving around Corpus Christi, where his wife and children live when he is in Mathis where it is too dangerous for them. The narrator describes the middle class community and Logan's feelings toward it. "From the height of the mountain he saw the mythic people with all their mystery and wonder, the wind blew through his hair, his beard, he cried with the pleasure of becoming one with nature, the beauty, the danger, that drew them closer to the desired spot, to win riches to become famous . . . (150). However, immediately after the protagonist reflects: "I' an egotistical bastard, I could stay here, set up a clinic here, in this place. They need one here too. I convince the locals. I'm a phony, I'm doing what I'm doing to make myself famous, to feel important, but . . . but why am I doing it? What am I doing there with them, with those people when my wife, my children need me here? Why am I going to buy this damned machine? I like it . . . that's all, I like what I do; I've gotten this far, I've embarked on this adventure because I like it, I'm lucky to be able to choose what I want to do, I can choose, others can't. I'm free, others aren't. And I don't really care what happens; yes, I love my family, but if I die, what then? They'll keep on living, no one is indispensable" (150-151). Logan here, in examining his own motives, does in fact actually discover that it is not pure egotism compelling him, but he does also discern that it is his choice to aid, in fact to become a part of, the Chicano community in Mathis. He cannot rationalize setting up a clinic in Corpus Christi as

anything but an abdication of his political responsibility in Mathis. His choice represents the choice that all intellectuals and professionals must make-the choice to politically commit themselves to revolutionary social transformation.

This claiming of responsibility stands in stark contrast to Dr. Martínez who rationalizes his professional choices and recasts the meaning of revolutionary action to fit his bourgeois life narrative. When Logan asks Martínez why he does not go to Mathis, he answers: "Because I don't want to. My revolution is here, doing what I do and getting into that damn racist corporation they've got. I want to be welcomed and honored and I want to become a specialist in emergency medicine and be accepted by those snobs. I want to be accepted for what I know and for my contributions to the art of healing. That will be my contribution. My struggle is here, not there. But listen, this does not mean that I am going to forget where I came from" (54) But what he views as his contribution to the struggle, we learn later, is his being a role model of the American success story to other Chicanos. As he later tells another who is heading to Mathis to help Logan and who challenges Martínez's commitment, "Excuse my frankness, but who are you to doubt my commitment to the struggle? I serve as an example for Chicanos; the young people who see me will want to be like me. I'm one of the best doctors in my field and everyone respects me. I fight for the cause in my own way and you shouldn't insinuate that I don't" (202). Yet what he exemplifies is purely the mythical success of upward mobility, that anyone can make it, regardless of obstacles, ignoring the fact that moving up a class is not the end of racism because the social processes that translate race into privilege or poverty are still in place, especially for everyone else. Martínez's Chicano politics become those of the bourgeois ethos of individualism and self-reliance. Martínez believes that his identity, even his existence itself, is a political statement and as such he represents Morales' critique of identity politics, an example of which we find paradigmatically stated by the Black feminist critic Barbara Smith who writes: "As Black women we have an identity and therefore a politics that requires faith in the humanness of Blackness and femaleness. We are flying in the face of white male conceptions of what humanness is and proving that it is not them, but us" (Fuss 99). This statement clarifies the precise nature of the relation between identity and politics: "we have an identity and therefore a politics" (Fuss 99). The link between identity and politics is causally and teleologically defined; for practitioners of identity politics, identity necessarily determines a kind of politics. What Morales represents through the character of Martínez, however, is that this is not so; actions and ideology, not identity or skin color, determine one's politics.

What Morales reasserts through this plot structure is that the name

"Chicano" does not signify a racial identity or status necessarily (Mexican-American, Latino, Hispanic, etc.) but rather a political choice and commitment informed by "both the affirmation of working-class and indigenous origins, and the rejection of assimilation, acculturation, and the myth of the American melting pot" (Chabram and Fregoso 205). Racial background, for Morales, is no guarantee of "authenticity" when speaking of a Chicano political identity. Morales critiques a narrowly conceived identity politics which authorizes a politics on the basis of one's racial identity rather than on an assessment of the politics itself, demonstrating that an "Anglo" may be more "Chicano" than a self-proclaimed Chicano who chooses the road of assimilation and individual upward mobility as opposed to a collective political solution to the oppression of racial capitalism and internal colonialism. Identity does not automatically authorize politics. As the people of Mathis say of Logan, "He was more of a Chicano than some who are born Chicanos" (186). This sentiment recalls major literary debates around the construction of a canon within Chicano literature, debates centering on the meaning or ideology of Chicano ethnicity and identity itself. Is John Rechy's work "Chicano" even though the politics and themes of his writing might not be considered typically or traditionally "Chicano" in terms of the politics and concerns defined by the movement? If the criterion is one of political content, what then is to be made of the works of John Nichols? Bruce-Novoa sarcastically suggests the invention of the new category of "casi-casi" or "almost-almost," "for those authors who cannot pass the blood test but whose writing is culturally and ethnically Chicano" ("Canonical" 206). Morales' novel practically circumvents the issue and has no patience for it, valorizing political commitment over blood-tests as the final measure of authenticity. The novel constantly privileges action as the condition of truth and suggests that race cannot be reduced to a matter of identity. Rather, the experience of racism has to be expanded into a critique of U.S. society and connected to imperialism. If these connections are overlooked in a desire to simply claim identity and by extension political authority, the novel suggests, then we hover perilously close to the trap of defining race as a biological essence rather than as a social construct. There is no Chicano "essence," no genetic quality that makes one inherently distinct from individuals of other races. The badges of "Anglo" and "Chicano" in the novel become not racial indicators but cultural associations linked with and defined by an anti-imperialist working-class nationalist politics, as I will discuss. And the title *Death of an Anglo* refers not only to the eventual death and martyrdom Logan suffers when he is murdered because of his continued political involvement but also metaphorically to the death of his "Anglo" identity as he effectively adopts a Chicano political identity. Note even that his name "Logan" is an anagram of "Anglo," a jumbled up version of

it, suggesting that very non-identity between his politics and his "Anglo" heritage and all that it might imply.

In conceptualizing the relation between identity and politics raised by Morales' novel, we might state the case as such that one's "identity," defined here as a function of one's position in the racial patriarchal capitalist system, can potentially provide one with a more or less privileged comprehension of the social totality–and thus by extension with a politics responsive to one's objective interests. However, one's identity and experience do not necessarily or automatically register those objective interests or guarantee a political consciousness of those interests. Moreover, the novel stands as a critique of the assumption of identity politics that a particular movement must include only those who face a specific form of oppression. To one degree or another, the assumption goes: all other people in society are part of the problem–in some way they benefit from oppression and have an interest in maintaining it. In *Death of an Anglo*, Morales suggests it is not necessary to face a particular oppression in order to fight against that oppression, any more than it is necessary to be destitute in order to fight against poverty; that many people who do not experience a particular form of oppression can learn to identify with those who do, and can be enlisted as allies in a common struggle. By going into the community of Mathis, for example, Logan witnesses the realities of racial oppression he thought had vanished with the civil rights movement; in contrast, Martínez becomes the poster-boy for American individualism, the idea that anyone can make through thrift and hard work regardless of race, gender, etc.

Against the conceptualization of political consciousness offered by identity politics, *Death of an Anglo* asserts a more Marxist version or theory of political interests which suggests that while certainly in the short-term narrowly defined self-interest say, of the Anglo population, it might be worthwhile to exploit and oppress others, in the long-term of history it is not. The view is one expressed by the character Don Costa, who "liked the long view of things that started with the past and flowed through the present and ended with his grandchildren's future" (72). Furthermore, in continuing his meditation on what will compel the professional intellectual, no longer compelled by individual material necessity, to ally himself with, or indeed, in the case of Logan, to initiate, a revolutionary movement against capitalist imperialism, Morales offers a Marxist conceptualization of work as the source of radicalization and political consciousness. The intellectual, unlike the exploited laborer, is in more of a position to produce freely and to realize for herself, or himself, Marx would say, as a species being. "Man is a species being," Marx writes, "not only because in practice and in theory he adopts the species as his object (his own as well as those of other things), but–and this is another way of expressing it–but also

because he treats himself as the actual, living species; because he treats himself as a universal and therefore a free being... In creating an objective world by his practical activity, in working-up inorganic nature, man proves himself a conscious species being, i.e., as a being that treats the species as its own essential being, or that treats itself as a species being" (Marx 75). That is, that men and women, as species being, recognize themselves as part of a social collective and produce for and toward the good of the whole, recognizing one's self as part of that larger communal self and one's self-interest as bound up with the interests of the larger social collective. When one is alienated from one's labor, however, Marx argues, "it turns for him the life of the species into a means of individual life." One's life activity becomes a mere means to a wage to support oneself, as with the other physicians in *Death of an Anglo* who forego political responsibility and the humanism and morality the oaths of their profession entail in favor of accumulating wealth.

It is the choice the professional intellectual makes in conceptualizing the purpose of work that is central to Morales' meditation on political commitment. Dr. Redacky, for example, speaks to Logan about the rigors and dehumanization of the medical educational program: "The program is overwhelming," he says, "it strains a young intern so much that we kill his idealism, we kill his compassion, and his humanity. When they leave here they only think about getting even for what we've done to them, for how we've made them suffer. The easiest way of doing that is by getting rich, with the excuse that they deserve it because they've worked so hard and studied so many years. Here, as I say, we kill them, we make them technical monsters, scientific monsters. Some completely lose their capacity to feel, even for themselves, their wives, and their children. They don't even get hard when they see a pretty young thing. They are so set on becoming specialists that nothing else exists for them. And so the patient becomes an example, a specimen upon which one will carry out an experiment. The patient becomes a guinea pig and a source of wealth. We dehumanize you poor guys" (64-65). It is Martínez, we see, whose work becomes an arena to assert his medical expertise to satisfy his own ego and to make himself wealthy, not to serve the social collective. As Redacky describes, Martínez is one of those who justifies his success on the basis of his hard work, believing that he deserves it over others instead of recognizing that he is privileged to have it and that others work equally hard if not harder, say, picking grapes, for much less reward.

Morales represents the university in the same way, full of individuals beaten down by the system, who forego ideals and adopt a scientific and inhumane approach to literature because of the pressures to succumb to publish in a high theoretical and masturbatory language instead of studying literature from a humanist perspective geared toward helping

us solve the concrete problems of our everyday life in revolutionary ways. Morales' character and perhaps alter-ego Eutemio Morenito, professor of literature and author of *Death of an Anglo* in the novel, must decide his fate in the university, and is finally inspired by Logan to live and work according to his ideals. Indeed, for Logan, it is through living up to the ideals of the medical profession, through trying to restore health to the community of Mathis, that he becomes a key player and leader in the international anti-imperialist movement. In order to restore health, he must end hunger which means challenging the global colonial capitalist system which creates inequality and distributes resources unjustly and inhumanely, leaving some to starve. For the character Logan, "People who really needed him came to him, he was doing something really important; not only did he cure them but he guided them, he showed them better ways to maintain their health, so that they themselves could keep themselves well; he talked to them about healthier food, but they said food was very expensive, that only the rich ate steak, that when the cost of gasoline went up so did everything else, that since they were poor they could hardly buy what was absolutely necessary for mere subsistence. He was told by the infection, the malnutrition, the lacerated stomachs, the bulging eyes, the dry skin, the yellow eyes, the tired women, the uneven knees, the twisted feet, the drunken minds, the mouths reeking of alcohol, the dripping ears, the chewed earlobes, the abused children, the swollen vaginas, the inflamed penises; hunger was the cause of all in a society that permitted it" (123). Through practicing his trade with intellectual ideals, he revolutionizes the profession and becomes himself politicized, developing a class consciousness, such that we learn he begins supplying ammunitions to and aiding peasant revolutions in Mexico.

Logan's linkage of the peasant revolutions in Mexico and the Chicano Movement in the U.S. signifies Morales' reassertion of the internal colonial model which links Third World struggles at home with Third World struggles abroad, seeing racial minorities in the U.S. as constitutive of oppressed nations, as Third World pockets within the First World nation. Through Logan and also Eutemio Morenito, inspired by Logan, Morales suggests that we the intellectuals must engage in the production of knowledge geared toward understanding and liberating people from the conditions of global capitalism and imperialism, theorizing Chicano nationalism in a Marxist internationalist framework.

Morales makes a direct assault on the university in the novel, indicting the intellectual who reneges on his or her political commitment and urging intellectuals to fulfill their responsibilities of producing socially useful and liberatory knowledge to resist capitalist and colonial exploitation. As in his later novel *The Brick People*, which features an early and almost unreadable scene, discussed earlier, of the massacre of Chinese immigrant

workers while Mexicano workers participate or stand by, in *Death of an Anglo* Morales urges against a narrow identity politics in favor of a broader Third World working class internationalist movement. The novel really anticipated a move Todd Gitlin has since identified in academia. Gitlin writes,

> In the academy, the pioneering work in the early 1970s toward making women's studies legitimate, bolstering labor studies, rethinking the damage done by slavery and the slaughter of Indians, opening up the canon to hitherto silenced traditions—all this work was done by scholars who had one foot in the civil rights movement and antiwar movements and who came to their specialties already bearing something of a universalist and cosmopolitan bent. But much of the succeeding work tended to harden and narrow. Identity politics in the strict sense became an organizing principle among the academic cohorts who had no political experience before the late 1960s, as race and gender (and sometimes class) became the organizing categories by which critical temperaments addressed the world in the humanities and social sciences, faculty people working in this territory came to display the confidence of an ascending class speaking predictably of "disruption," "subversion," "rupture," "contestation," "struggle for meaning." The more their political life is confined to the library, the more aggressive their language. (40)

Morales moves us out of the library, revives the internal colonial model, and redirects scholarship toward a politically committed approach. In an essay of his entitled "Dynamic Identities in Heterotopia" (1996), Morales, taking off from Anzaldúa, discusses the role of borders, both literal and figurative, in ordering our lives and dangerously disabling us in political activity by alienating us from our communal ties and interests. He writes, "A border maps limits; it keeps people in and out of an area; it marks the ending of a safe zone and the beginning of an unsafe zone. To confront a border and, more so, to cross a border presumes great risk. In general, people fear and are afraid to cross borders. People will not leave their safe zone, will not venture into what they consider an unsafe zone. People cling to the dream of utopia and fail to recognize that they create and live in heterotopia" (Morales, "Dynamic" 23). In *Death of an Anglo*, Morales has effectively written a handbook for crossing borders-those borders between the intellectual and the community, between the library and the street, between races, between countries, and between classes, as his humanly flawed protagonist redefines his identity in terms of his (and his world's) long-term political and human interests.

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esto es lo que hago

paul arturo cabral jr.

I see dark, black, full clouds. There is no moonlight tonight except for what filters through those same black clouds. The rains pouring down. My mom used to say we were God's flowers and that when it rained he was watering us. It is a typical, cómo se dice, un "dark and stormy night"?

The lightning flashes and illuminates everything in a strobe of whiteness. As far as the eye can see, everything is pure for that instant, even him.

He is an over-weight, fat, old, married with children, ugly, white man. To him this is normal. To him this is fun.

As I approach the squints through his glasses and through all the darkness de esta noche fría. He's wearing one of those velour, matching sweat outfits that an old wife gives to her darling, old husband on Christmas morning. The suit is beige with double blue stripes on the sides. He seems so sad and confused, yet normal and comfortable. He seems so . . . pathetic.

The thunder rumbles overhead. I crouch just enough as if the thunder is going to hit me. I look up and see him smile at me. His shiny, bald, white head is dripping water. To him this is normal. To him this is fun. To me this is uncomfortable and not fun. To me this is what I do and I just want to get it over with.

"I've been waiting for you," he tells me.

I don't answer him. I give him this fake smile and look confused and innocent. They like that shit.

"Let's go up to my room. I'm on the second floor." He walks away and expects me to follow. It would be so easy to turn around, run to my car, and be gone. But, this is what I do. I follow him.

We get into the elevator to go up to the second floor. I ask him, Why

don't we use the stairs instead of waiting for the elevator, it's probably faster."

"My feet are kind of sore," he says. "I've had a rough and tiring long day."

Whatever gordiflón, I think to myself.

In the elevator he stares at me, up and down. I smile and turn my head.

"I really lucked out tonight," he says half-jokingly.

I just nod my head. "Yeah, whatever."

"I can't wait to get you inside," he says somewhat like that fucken lobo in the little red riding hood fairy tale. I guess I should be wearing a little, fucken, red hooded cape.

The elevator doors open at the same instant that I flash of lightning strikes. Everything is pure for that instant. Why am I doing this? The lightning disappears. We walk down the corridor. A seemingly endless number of doors are on both sides of us. They look familiar and regular. I know these doors. I've been through them. They must all look alike.

We reach his room. He opens the door. It doesn't matter which one. He turns and looks at me.

"You have a beautiful tan," he says to me.

"That's just me," I say as he closes the door behind us.

Lightning strikes and everything is pure again.

VI

NACCS Creative Corner, Short Story

Cholo / salvatrucho

Horacio N. Roque Ramírez
University of California, Berkeley

I

Estás muy consciente que son exactamente las 11:00 de la noche, domingo. Tu camisa Pendleton de mentiritas, de segunda, te cuelga muy bien, sobre tu espalda recta, como siempre lo has querido. Esta es la misma camisa con la que ya has logrado conquistas ... es la de la suerte, la que te deja memorias siempre que la usás. Sabés bien que ésta es la que tenés que usar esta vez, con todo lo que te espera.

Caminás sobre la Mission Street, sonriendo con picardía escondida, bien seguro. Una de esas brisas ricas de San Francisco te da la seguridad que no necesitás gorra hoy. Además, así te pueden admirar mejor tu cara desnuda, sin los lentes, los labios empapados de humedad nocturna. Listos. Si no llega el bus y seguís caminando, con el pisto te podés comprar otra cerveza.

Entre las calles 21 y 20 no se ve lo mismo de siempre a esta hora, la soledad semanal de la noche antes que comiencen de nuevo los ritos raciales de esta ciudad. En vez hay poca gente carcajeándose pero ya cansada, las últimas instancias de un fin de semana de supuesto orgullo carnavalesco amariconado de junio; los eventos de una liberación sexual que dicen que nació en el 69 pero que voz sabés muy bien que en realidad se hace y deshace a diario, donde sea, donde se pueda.

Unas cuantas lesbianas gringas obvias también se desparraman de la línea 14 sobre la calle para no volverse a atravesar por estos rumbos vestidas así hasta dentro de un año cuando regresen los turistas de Los

Angeles, los barbudos y los del cuero, todo sabor para todo gusto. Aquí se mezclan los mundos esta noche y vos sólo observás, tal vez por cautela ... o por vergüenza.

La emoción que cargás es algo obvia hoy, más de lo normal que se permite en público, o que permite la seguridad. El perfume fresco, el rico baño a la carrera, el resplandor de tu cabeza recién rasurada, un estilo de cholo falso, y la seguridad que este muchacho sí te va a querer. No podés creer que te habló a vos en el festival esta tarde, que te reconoció de Los Angeles y que te quiere ver esta misma noche con sus amigos en la discoteca. El se regresa la mañana siguiente, te dice, pues es parte de la migración maricona continua entre las dos ciudades. A vos no te importa mucho de dónde vino ni a dónde va. Reconocés que no hay tiempo que perder. El corazón te da saltos con más y más energía y las ilusiones no dejan de llenarte el espíritu. Esta noche vas solo con un destino bien cercano y te tragás el mundo entero.

Caminás una cuadra más. Otras figuras también salpican la calle obscurecida. La Mission no se ve ni tan muerta ni tan viva a menudo, pero no le ponés tanta atención. Medís cautelosamente el tiempo sobre tu muñeca, sin mover tanto la mirada, sonriendo de nuevo con vos mismo y calculando los minutos que le restan a tu camino. Tus dos aretes te responden muy bien: plata brillante en forma de dos aros que se gemelan al máximo, movidos por tus pasos con un balance rítmico que simula tu propio estilo, medio falso pero bien hecho. Esa perfecta línea vertical céntrica del cuerpo humano te sirve como eje preciso, como ancla de personalidad muy bien ensayada en público. Posiblemente un día te lluevan aplausos por tan perfecta modestia simulada.

Has dado cinco pasos más al llegar a la calle 19. Decidís del todo que no vas a esperar ni la línea 14 ni la 49. Tal vez al llegar a la 16, donde hay más luz y gente que admirar y que te admiren, cambiés de parecer. Y estarás más ansioso de volver a verlo a él: su cara redonda y suave, su cabeza, todavía más pelona que la tuya y linda. Su cuerpo entero de nadador pero lleno. Más que todo recordás el sabor de su sonrisa, como en sus labios se miden pocas palabras, ligeras y no muy profundas, pero suyas. Dirigidas a vos. Sí, a vos.

Continuás caminando, sabiendo muy bien que no debés acelerar en absoluto. Sólo un paso bien medido es el que menos atención te puede dar en estas partes de tu barrio. Ya casi cumplís los dos años de vivir aquí pero seguís pretendiendo que no es el tuyo. Tanto gringo metido en esta parte de la ciudad como que confunde al más seguro de los recién arrimados.

Son diez pasos adentro de la siguiente cuadra los que has dado cuando te fijás con el ojo izquierdo que al otro lado de la calle se encuentran cuatro o cinco cabrones, exactamente al frente de la licorería. Se ven jóvenes todos, cipotes pelones, entre los 12 y 18 años lo más. Normalmente, de día

y con más gente, no les ponés demasiada atención; el maricón regularmente se pierde en la masa urbana a diario por aquí sin mayor percance. Pero esta noche es un poco distinta: como en el día de las brujas cuando a los niño les recomiendan estar más alertas de lo normal, los días de festividad de este tipo de "liberación" siempre lo ponen a uno más cuidadoso.

Por ahora no te has colocado lo suficientemente enfrente para causar ninguna emboscada de miradas. Pero uno nunca sabe. Sabés que ya es demasiado tarde para no llamar la atención al darte vuelta para una de las otras calles y que no hay manera de evitar que te vean. Dos pasos más, un poco más adentro de la cuadra y con tu ojo derecho, sin quitarle la vista a los de la izquierda, distinguís seis o siete babosos a tu lado de la calle. Con cautela, tomás mejor control de tu ritmo, ni muy creído ni tan sonriente. Independiente, pensás.

Ahora sí les prohibís a tus aretes que se muevan tanto, que no digan nada, que no te dilaten de lo que sos y a lo que vas con tantas ganas. Tratás de no tomar ninguna posición exagerada, aunque tampoco dejás de querer sentirte un poco más machito que antes, lo suficiente para indicarles que no sos De La Hoya pero que tampoco sos maricón profesional. De repente te das cuenta que esta vez no hay salida y que sólo tu buen semblante de niño-vato bien portado y un poquito amanerado te puede salvar.

No permitís que tu mirada te lleve mucho más adelante. Si lo hacés, hay peligro de contacto directo. Sabés muy bien que no sos de aquí, que las fronteras se marcan de calle en calle, aunque tu ropa los engañe perfectamente a todos, menos a vos mismo. Otra vez te acordás que los disfraces en la discoteca son una cosa, y los de la calle otra. Pero vos seguís de necio confundiendo los dos en todas partes.

II

Como cinco pies y once pulgadas mide su estatura-cinco más que la de vos. Lo medís cuando ves que se despega de la pared y de los demás y te corta el camino. Te sorprende como calcula todo tan bien. Tan ágil parece, pero también con tan fino estilo, que admirás su abilidad. Es suave, el bruto. Su forma es cuadrada, sólida pero no tan tosca. De cerca, huelés una fuerte muralla de cuerpo hecho en la calle con retos y pesas y balas y tacos y noches de profundo sereno de la Bahía. Se detiene en frente de vos, casi bien topado y suspirás con mucho miedo, bien desilusionado. Te tenés tanta lástima.

Con tu mirada todavía baja y sin querer mostrar temor, pensás que aquí te roban el poco pisto que traés en la cartera. Tu primer instinto es

ofrecerla con un poco de orgullo, como lo hicieron vos y tu primer novio en Los Angeles hace años, contentos de que la pistola gruesa que les pusieron en la cara no fue usada. Tal vez si le das lo que quiere evitás un pullón ... tal vez un tiro de cualquier calibre, salir limpio de una calle asquerosa con juventud de mierda, pensás. Pero no es tan fácil el bolado, no tan superficiales las diferencias. Y por más "tranquilo" que te hagás parecer, como que los pies ya no te funcionan muy bien.

Sentís que su aliento se empieza a mezclar con el tuyo aunque el de él te ahoga un poco, lentamente, y ni siquiera la loción que te hechaste o la obscuridad aguantan su fuerza. Se congela el tiempo. Son apenas milímetros los que gira tu cabeza al lado izquierdo, hacia atrás ... despacio. Te acordás de repente que antes corrías bien recio en la escuela y por las calles de Los Angeles-hasta en maratones. O que, en El Salvador, en el monte correteabas las vacas con tu chucho. Te maldecís a vos mismo por no saber mejor que siempre que uno entra a pedazos de noche como éstas, siempre piensa uno de donde viene y lo que no tiene ... lo que siempre has querido. Pero rápido despertás y reconocés que aquí son siete los que te saludan ... demasiados para correr. Tu mirada no puede girar al lado contrario porque su pecho es demasiado fuerte, demasiado encima de vos, de todo lo que sos, y a la brava quiere que lo reconozcás, que lo sintás bien, hasta que lo mirés. El está enfrente de vos y su posición ya es la tuya y la tenés que aceptar. Sí es tu barrio, ¿o es que ya no lo querés?

Segundos después su amigo entra en el acto. Rápido, un baile empieza, un trío confuso entre vos, él y su chero, sin saber quién sigue a quién, quién lleva; la música no es del todo audible y vos te cagás del miedo por los golpes que presentís. Algo te dice que lo querés tocar con cuidado, moverlo suavemente, que le regalás un abrazo o tal vez un besito caliente en su mejía derecha, para quitarle un poco de frío. O decirle que tal vez buscan algo en común vos y él aunque con disfraces distintos. Su mirada te duele, tan cerca y dura pero te imaginás que no se ve tan mal ... otra vez despertás.

"¿Qué pasó, puto?" te dice de bienvenida, muy cerca de tu oído, para que lo oigás vos muy bien, como un secreto de amantes.

"Hey, man, nothing's up," le contestás, seguro de que el tal "man" siempre ayuda a hacer comunidad donde sea y a toda hora, el lenguage común de todos los pueblos del mundo. Le tirás las palabras medio a él y medio al suelo. Empezás a perder tu balance un poco, sin retroceder tan obviamente y a temblar en silencio como en tus tiempos de bronquitis aguda, cuando todavía creías que maricón que nace, maricón que se muere de SIDA.

"Hey, man, just fuckin' leave him alone, ése, just leave it, eeh ..." El otro intenta un auxilio, metiéndose entre ustedes dos. Te confunde esta plegaria. Sentís que querés llorar, que alguien quiere meterse por en

medio, entre "los dos cholos"-sí, pendejo, vos y él, ¿o ya no te gusta el disfraz? ¿Será que te quiere defender por tan triste debilidad, que el barrio cerote también siente compasión? Te ahoga tu propia saliva pero no podés tragar ... la garganta se te hace un nudo y no quiere que nada entre a tu cuerpo.

Continúan los tres el baile en la calle. Carros van y vienen, luces que iluminan la escena pero nadie se detiene. Aunque el que está menos bolo se encuentra entre vos y el alto, todavía sentís el peso del mero mero, sus músculos tan cerca de vos, tu mirada siempre baja con pena, con esa humildad de inmigrante que tan bien has aprendido. Aunque ya no estás totalmente pegado a tu contrincante, algo no te permite que lo perdás del todo, que te despegués por completo. Debe ser la estúpida idea de comunidad que tenés.

"No, man, fuck him ... Pinche puto ... He's not supposed to be here ..." Otra vez te habla, con más fuerza y aliento que la primera vez, menos a tu oído y más a tu cara.

"Hey, man," vos insistís, "nothing's up ... "Querés dar a demostrar que sos chero del pueblo, que no te molesta mucho que ellos te hayan detenido un poquito, que siempre comés en lugares latinos y nunca pasás por Castro, Metrópoli del mariconerío gringo, sin escupir un par de veces. Pero tu voz es demasiado anémica, tan sedienta de fuerza. Ni siquiera podés suplicar. Otra vez te jode la memoria y te acordás que en El Salvador, a los maricones les dicen mamayitas.

"Leave him alone," se mete el otro otra vez, "just leave hime alone ... He ain't doing shit . .. Let's go ... Let's just fuckin go ..."

El espacio entre los tres al fin se abre un poco, pero con cada intento tuyo de dejar la pieza se te impone el mismo cuerpo de siempre. A la izquierda, los tres giran por igual: vos, el matón y el rescate. A la derecha, también. Los otros cuatro permanecen inmóviles, todavía pegados a la pared con sus sombras quietas, obedientes pelones embrutecidos saber con que puercas ... licor, drogas ... saber que putás más ... testigos inertes ... Cómo te cae mal la gente que no hace ni mierda por nada ni por nadie. Qué desperdicio, pensás, y vos bien jodido y triste por no estar embolándote vos mismo ya con tu chulote japonés en la disco. Ojalá que no llegués tan tarde.

Por un momento como que todos se cansan del juego y sentís que tal vez sí hay una salida. Pero otra vez más te equivocás.

No sabés de dónde, pero de repente lo que después crees fue su mano derecha, te alcanza uno de tus ojos. Admirás el golpe. No podés entender todavía todo lo que está pasando. Te cae como trueno directo, como cuando uno peca, bien puesto ... como una oración compuesta de verbos activos que te dicen, "Puto." No es mentira lo de las estrellitas que ve uno cuando

le joden la cabeza. La caricia que te dan te llega bien cerca de todo. Pero seguís de pie. Por burro.

Ya no te movés con la misma agilidad. Como que un pedazo de cara te cuelga. No sabés si es sangre o agua triste la que te sale del ojo. Le rezás al diosito lindo en el que no creés que no te vayan a agarrar todos de un solo ... que no te agarren de piñata pública. No podés creer que te han tocado tu cara así antes que tu chulito te vea esa misma noche. ¿Y si se te mancha la camisa? Qué relajo ... que te jodan tan feo camino al altar.

En la desesperación de buscar el tal por qué, te escapás por dentro. Quisieras besar al que trató de defenderte, por lo menos por su intento, darle un abrazote fuerte de bolos que se quieren, juntos en la causa. Y continuás insistiéndole a éste que "everything's cool, man, just cool, no big deal ..." Pero el otro te sigue gritando mierda y media, el que te dio tan violento cariño. Uno que otro golpe te cae después en los lados, lo poco que te pudo alcanzar ... para que te acordés.

Al fin, su amigo se interpone del todo y logra separarte. Notás que la mirada del dueño de los vergazos rejuvenece bastante. Agarra valor por su hazaña, por la conquista. Se le ve honor en la cara. Ya podés dejarlo unos pasos atrás y ves que no te sigue. Te ves un poco más perdido sobre la Mission que antes, como gallina media degollada buscando amparo en mágicas luces rojas y azules de carritos de policía. O tal vez en los deslumbrantes faros de luces blancas de los carros que pasan y que te pueden atropellar por meterte en medio de la calle, perdido en saber qué. Te ponés a pensar que ahora sí podés correr y que no estás en el suelo todo quebrado. Pero la vergüenza te detiene. Medio mirás hacia atrás para ver si el cabrón todavía quiere otro pedazo de vos, o si ya estás solo, si ya pasó todo.

III

Levantás la mirada un poco y ponés los pies adelante en otra parte de la misma cuadra, en el mismo lado. Tu angelito de la guarda gordito que te separó del peligro te alcanza por detrás y te agarra, como para abrazarte. Quiere verte el ojo a la fuerza para ver qué pasó, pero vos no sabés si se lo querés enseñar. Como que la violencia es algo demasiado privado para andarla enseñando en público. Pero él insiste y te agarra más de cerca como si te quisiera dar un beso de cholos que no se recuerdan de nada de lo que hicieron la mañana siguiente, de los que no te gustan. Pero estás tan necesitado que dejás que te mueva la mano con la que te cubrís la mitad de la cara. Te arde bastante, pero más dolor te da la lástima que no dejás de sentir.

"Everything's cool, right man, just right ..." te pregunta bien rápido.

"Sure, man, " le decís, "everything's cool, it's fine. No problem." Querés que te deje solo, que no te muestre tanta atención o lástima. Querés convencerlo, pero más que a él, te tenés que convencer a vos mismo.

"Alright, man. Cool." Y sale corriendo, preocupado por lo que pasó, como si en verdad vos pudieras hacer algo.

Se te quitan las ganas de ir a preguntarle al que te pegó por qué puercas te tocó a vos, por qué si son tan cheros entre ellos no pueden compartir un poquito de calle, un pedacito. A la fuerza, con más determinación que antes, seguís con tu caminata nocturna. Ya pasaste por todo, pensás, y te preocupa que vas a llegar tarde a la disco, de dejar plantado a tu muñeco. Lo más importante por el momento es examinarte el ojo, el cachete y el oído. Que mierda que ninguno de los negocios en el camino tiene ventanas con espejos donde te podés ver la cara. Aunque la cabeza te pesa el triple, no sentís goteo de nada. No hay sangre en tu ropa y con mucho cuidado te revisás con la yema de los dedos el ojo. No sale nada, pero sentís las ganas de estallar.

Ignorás casi por completo el resto de las sombras que te encontrás en el camino. Te da pánico pensar que todos vieron todo y que saben lo que ha pasado. Con más agilidad al fin llegás a la 16 y la cruzas para esperar el bus con un grupito de gente. Un grupo de tres mujeres te alcanza. Ya no aguantás la falta de compañía y les preguntas si pueden ver algo en tu cara que muestre algo, si ven algo en el ojo. No te dicen mucho, sólo que se ve una cortadita chiquita cerca de la ceja, nada más. Vaya, hoy si quedás bien chulo con una cicatriz verdadera, lo que siempre has querido. La prueba contundente que el barrio te abre las puertas, que pertenecés.

Les agradecés por su fina gentileza de enfermeras callejeras y te alejás de ellas unos cuantos metros mientras llega el bus. Querés estar solo para pensar. Dos minutos pasan que se sienten como horas mientras no dejás de ver si por casualidad tus cheros te siguieron a la parada del bus, pero no se ve nadie. Al subirte al bus, también te alejás de todos y te emocionás que al fin vas a poder verte la cara vos mismo en el espejito redondo colocado arriba, cerca de la salida. Cuando llega el momento de bajarte para caminar las últimas cuadras hacia la disco, quedás sorprendido que casi no se ve sangre. Y tu cachete apenas tiene un color rosado que de seguro no se va a poder ver tan bien con poca luz. Y menos por gente tomada.

De la bajada del bus hasta la esquina de la disco sólo hay seis cuadras. Empezás a galopar con un trote rápido de desesperado, casi hambriento. No querés que el susto que acaban de darte mate la ilusión de verlo y de tocarlo y hasta con más ganas pensás que le vas a poder decir, "See, I'm here, I went through all this just to come and see you, my face all fucked up just to see you, to be with you." Así tiene que ser, darle a conocer que te pongan lo que te pongan por enfrente, vas a llegar. Te tocás la cartera por

encima de la bolsa trasera de tus jeans mientras seguís caminando y te la sacás para ver que todo esté bien: tenés la licencia, el poco de dinero, el número de su hotel. Ya empezás a ver las luces de lo que supuestamente es el lugar a lo lejos.

Calculás que en menos de diez minutos vas a mostrar tus papeles de entrada, a pagar los siete dólares, a darles el brazo derecho para que te marquen con tinta imborrable en la parte suavecita, al revés de la muñeca donde dicen que se cortan las venas con mucha facilidad. Es un itinerario muy bien ensallado el que tenés para meterte adentro, pero si no tenés cuidado, esta vez se te pueden olvidar los detalles más importantes porque ya sabés con quien te vas a topar. La cabeza te sigue pesando, pero no te importa porque la meta está bien fija. Ya sentís que lo hueles.

Al doblar por la calle Harrison podés ver que las cuadras adelante están muertas, como las de la Mission. Dos cuadras más y todavía no se oye mucha bulla. No se ven las calles llenas de carros parqueados como siempre, los taxis acarriando gente de todas partes. Tampoco se ve la cola de gente que por general se alarga por la acera a estas horas. Qué raro, pensás.

Te acercás al fin al lugar al cruzar la última calle, pero no hay ruido. Unos cuantos carros te pasan bien cerca pero no les das importancia. No se ve nada ni se oye gente, ni música, ni chismes ... vaya ... La gran caminada y la pendejada está cerrada. Viaje por gusto.

Aquí sí te entra la desesperación. Te entra un coraje leve y empezás a contar tu dinero otra vez. Le llamás al hotel pero el operador te dice que nadie contesta en su cuarto. Ya casi es la media noche. Sí hace bastante frío en San Francisco en el verano y vos por coqueto ni te pusiste la gorra. Esta vez luchás para no dejar que la saliva te ahogue la garganta.

En unos cuantos segundos decidís terminar la noche donde muchos lo hacen, caminando ocho cuadras por otros rumbos, hacia el End Up. Ahí no hay cola, sólo sobras de las trasnochadas de maricones endrogados, varios cuerpos bien gastados moviéndose a un ritmo que a saber de dónde lo sacaron. Te vas directo a la barra a buscar la medicina infalible. Dos tequilazos bien puestos, una cerveza helada y unas cuantas lágrimas bien medidas y se te quita el ardor. Al fin podés empezar a reírte un poco. Un grupo de tres pelones latinos bien parecidos, con ropa no muy distinta a la tuya entran y se compran una cerveza cada uno. El de enmedio se te queda viendo por unos segundos y se lleva la cerveza a la boca cuando pasan en frente de vos. Te fijás bien como le cuelga una gota clara de cerveza del labio inferior antes de lambérsela con la lengua a la carrera. Está chulo.

You can't wait to let your ex know what happened that night, because you think that you'll feel closer to him somehow, 'cos he was a real cholo once, and for now, at least you belonged a little to that same crap: la

bendición y la bienvenida al mismo tiempo con un sólo vergazo. In your mind you're also already writing an e-mail to your friend in L. A., to give him another account of the City, what San Francisco is all about. Even though he's happily married with his man, you know he can always appreciate your boy drama. Besides, he was with you when you bought that Pendleton before you moved, so he has a right to know.

El siguiente día te llama el que nunca lograste ver esa noche. Se disculpa por haberte dado el nombre equivocado de la disco. Vos te reís un poco porque sabés que sigue siendo el chulote que te habló ayer por la tarde, con sus mismos labios gruesos, los mismos ojitos de niño. Le decís lo que pasó sin darle tanto detalle, más bien como aseguranza de que al llegar vos a Los Angeles te debe algo, aunque sea un besito en el ojo con la herida. Lo que sea. Todavía querés tener esperanzas de algo con él, o con alguien que por ahora se parece bastante a él.

Contributors

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